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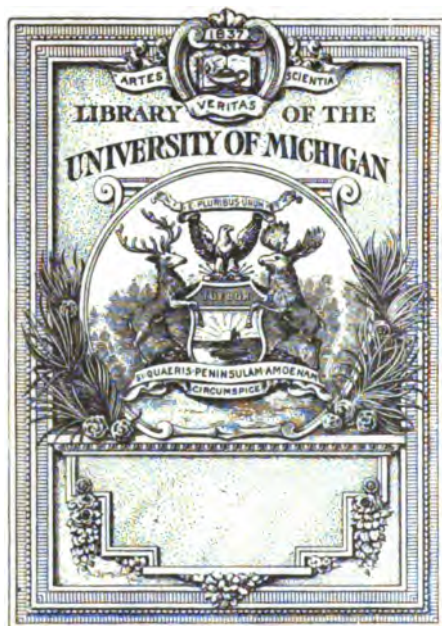
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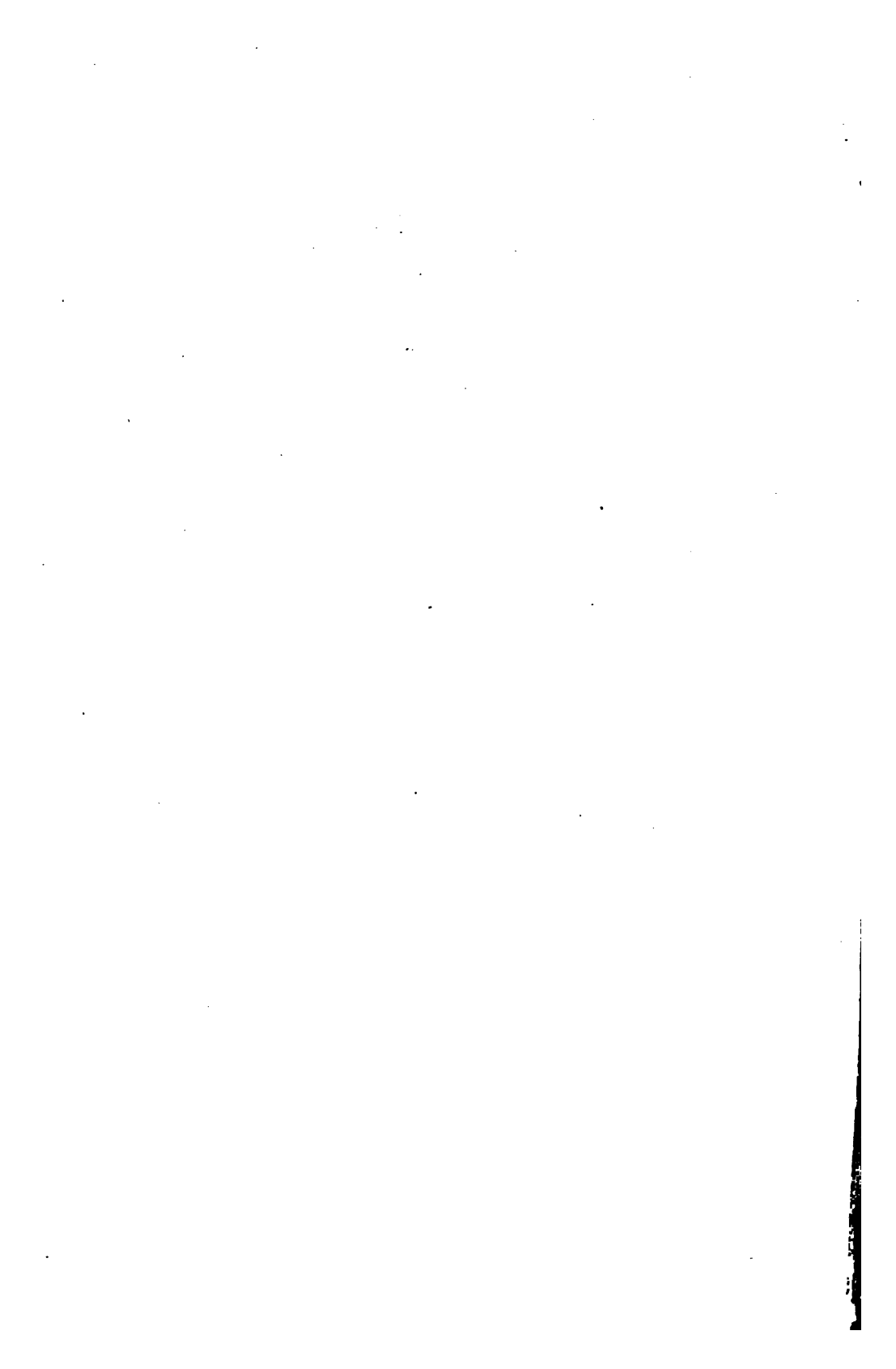
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THE FALSE PROPHETS.

THE phrase "false prophet" is not used in the Old Testament, though it is said there of certain persons that they spake "falsely," prophesied "lies," and "out of their own heart," and that the Lord had not "sent" them. Neither perhaps does the general idea of a false prophet meet us; all that is said of certain prophets is that in regard to particular issues of one sort or another in the future they spoke falsely, and that in regard to the counsels which on this or that occasion they gave the people or the prospects which they held out to them they deceived them. The view that prevailed among the people—and it seems the view of the

ERRATUM.

On p. 263, lines 17-19, read as follows: (21) But the whole crowd of Athenians and resident strangers which formed the audience were interested.

miah, and when the prophet, after some delay, was able to counsel them from the Lord to remain in the land they replied, "Thou speakest falsely: Jehovah our God hath not sent thee to say, Ye shall not go into Egypt, but Baruch the son of Neriah setteth thee on against us" (Jer. xliii. 2).

Nevertheless they continued to regard Jeremiah as a man of God, and insisted on dragging him with them as a kind of sacred fetish into the land of Egypt. The question, How was it that prophets spoke falsely, and how did the people believe them? may be difficult to answer. If looked at a little more closely, it may turn out to be a question not very different from some others which we are still asking about people to-day and still finding it far from easy to reply to.

1. From the point of view which we now occupy it seems strange that there should have been false prophets. The phenomenon of prophecy was such a unique one, the prophetic inspiration was so directly from God and the prophet so much his immediate servant that we might think there was little room for confusing the true prophecy with anything else, or for any one imagining himself to be a prophet who was not one. Standing as we do now, two or three thousand years distant from the scenes of Israel's life, our eye sees only one or two great figures; all else is obliterated and reduced by distance to a level. We observe the imposing figure of the prophet with his extraordinary powers of prediction, and in some cases of miracle-working, and we see little else. The elements of the life that surrounded him are almost indistinguishable. The complications in which he was involved, the popular interests that he ministered to, the struggles of opposing parties, the shadows and darkness that fell upon the leaders of the people, perplexing their counsels and paralysing their actions,—in a word, the life that surrounded the prophet and beat upon him with its waves we hardly realize. He is to us merely a solitary, grand personage, with supernatural endowments. And we cannot help imagining him the same imposing figure to his contemporaries. And we wonder that they should ever have disobeyed his word or that anything like a counterfeit to him should ever have appeared. The wonder, however, would be lessened if we would look into the moral compli-

cations of our own time or those of any period of history known to us. We have among us the same elements or moral forces as were among the Israelites. We have the word of God even in ampler form, and we have its record of miracles. But, while we see multitudes believing it and living by it, and proclaiming it with an earnestness little less than prophetic, we see also a large part of mankind with no living belief in its truth and merely in the condition of not denying it, and we see among a number of others actual disbelief. The same condition of things appears in the period of history in which Christ lived. Though the Son of God, men did not find Him to be so. Though working profound miracles of grace and power, men found means of getting past them. However surprising, therefore, Israel's neglect of the true prophets or its opposition to them may appear, it is not without a parallel; it has a continuous parallel in the whole history of the human mind from that day to this. In attempting to explain it many things would need to be considered—disposition of mind, bias of upbringing, circumstances of life, the currents and waves of the whole atmosphere of thought of the time. It would be found eventually, perhaps, that none of these things sufficed for an explanation nor all of them put together; an element which was mysterious would need to be recognised, something additional to these "earthly things" and not one of them.

In ancient Israel there was a life as various as our own. Conduct and faith were subject to the same conditions as among ourselves. There were mysteries then as now. Men were perplexed by opposing probabilities as they are still. Conduct was not a straight luminous path then any more than it is now; various roads often presented themselves between which a choice had to be made. People believed that there was a Divine voice among them, but it did not speak directly but through the voice of men,

and there was room to doubt whether the particular voice of man was God's, or when competing voices were heard which was His. They had no criterion by which to decide. From the nature of the case an external criterion was impossible; they had to bring the standard of judgment with them in their own minds: "Every one that is of the truth heareth My voice." Many passages reveal the condition in which the people found themselves. In Jeremiah xviii. 18 they say: "Come and let us devise devices against Jeremiah, for the law shall not fail from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, *nor the word from the prophet*. Let us not give heed to any of his words." Here we see that the people believed in prophecy and in their prophets, but Jeremiah, who contradicted these prophets, they considered a deceiver. Even more instructive is the conflict between Jeremiah and Hananiah before a concourse of the people in regard to the duration of the Captivity (Jer. xxviii.). The former prophet said it would last two generations; Hananiah predicted that in two years the exiles would return with Jehoiachin at their head. The people gave their voices for Hananiah, and for the time Jeremiah was put to silence.

There were several things which it has been supposed might have served the people as external criteria of true prophecy. Such things were the prophetic ecstasy, miracle, and the verification of the prophetic word by fulfilment in events. But while in simple cases these things might be regarded as accompaniments or even as tokens of the true prophecy, when used as tests to discriminate between one prophet and another they were liable to fail. The excitation in greater or less degree, or even the complete ecstasy, was a thing natural to an oriental people; it was perhaps more natural when great truths were fresh and breaking for the first time on men's minds, or when a national crisis occurred which was new and not hitherto experienced in

history. In the early prophetic period the excitation was common, the prophetic language used in later times appears to be formed upon it, *e.g.* such terms as "vision," "see," "hear," and the like. It was, however, no essential element in true prophecy. It is not mentioned in connexion either with Moses or Samuel. On one occasion Elisha called for a minstrel, and while the minstrel played "the hand of the Lord" came upon him. Isaiah refers to it twice (chaps. vi., viii. 11). It was perhaps more common, however, all throughout prophecy than is usually supposed, and, though the words "see," "hear," and "hand of the Lord," may have at a later time been used in a less strict sense of the prophetic intuition unaccompanied by any extreme exaltation, their occurrence always deserves investigation. But obviously so common a phenomenon as the ecstasy could be no test of true prophecy. It was no evidence that a prophet was true, neither was it any evidence that he was false. On the contrary, it can readily be seen how it may have given rise to confusion of judgment on the part of onlookers, or, what was worse, may have led the man who was the subject of it to regard himself as truly inspired. For in early times, no doubt, the inspiration was an inference from the ecstasy. The man was seen to be in the hands of a power which appeared external to him. It was a god or God in whose grasp he was.

Miracle might certainly be an evidence and test of true prophecy in some circumstances. It was so on Mount Carmel, when at Elijah's word fire from heaven consumed his sacrifice and licked up the water in the trench, though the subsequent history leaves us in great doubt how permanent the moral influence even of this great wonder was. In the Old Testament miracle means wonder; it is something extraordinary, nothing more. Any additional element of meaning arising from the idea of "law" could not belong

to it because the idea of law did not exist. The question, therefore, is, not what impression the Old Testament miracles make on us now, but, how the people of Israel regarded them then. And there were several ways of thinking about miracles which tended to rob them of their force as tests or evidences. In the first place, the working of wonders was not regarded as an exclusive prerogative of Jehovah or of his true servants. Moses performed wonders in Egypt, turning water into blood and filling the land with frogs, but it is said that "the magicians of Egypt also did so with their enchantments" (Exod. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7). We nowadays may have our own opinions of the powers of the magicians and the nature of their performances, but the faith of the ancient world was more simple or its credulity greater. In this particular instance the Mosaic miracles did no doubt eventually outbid those of the magicians, but such conflicts were rare, or rather the instance is unique. Again, in Deuteronomy xiii. 1 it is said: "If there arise a prophet and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying [at the same time that he said], 'Let us go after other gods' . . . thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet . . . for the Lord your God proveth you . . ." Here a "false" prophet performs a wonder. It is Jehovah that empowers him, but the wonder, far from authenticating the prophet, has quite another purpose—to prove the people whether they love Jehovah their God with all their heart. The meaning of a miracle might be ambiguous. The passage, however, while withdrawing attention from external signs such as miracles, concentrates it upon the true test, the more sure word of prophecy, the first article of the people's faith, that Jehovah alone was God of Israel. And to all this has to be added the fact that from Amos downward miracles play hardly any part in the history of prophecy, while it was just in the

last days of the kingdom of Judah that the false prophecy became most rampant.

The third test, the verification of the prophet's word in fulfilment, is one proposed by Scripture itself (Deut. xviii. 21). But this very important criterion was one which was serviceable less to individuals than to the *people*, whose life was continuous and whose identity and consciousness were the same after a long period. As a guide to the conduct of individuals at the moment when the prediction was uttered it could be of little avail. Occasionally predictions were made which had reference to the near future, as when Micah ben Jimlah predicted the defeat of Ahab at Ramoth Gilead, or when Jeremiah foretold the death of Hananiah within the year. But usually the prophecies bore upon the destinies of the state, and were thrown into a somewhat indefinite future. This peculiarity perplexed men's minds and led to the despair or at least the disparagement of prophecy. They said, "The days are prolonged and every vision faileth"; or, if they did not go so far, they said of the prophet, "The vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of the times that are far off" (Ezek. xii. 22-28). The criterion of fulfilment was one for the use of the people, with its prolonged historical life—whether they will hear or whether they will forbear, they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them (Ezek. ii. 5). And its applicability was less to particular details than to the general scope of prophetic prediction. In the most of the canonical prophets this general scope was that the downfall of the state was imminent because of the sins of the people. The moral teaching of the prophets was, as we might say, secondary, being grouped around this predictive centre. It explained the impending downfall by laying bare its causes, the injustice that reigned and the false worship that prevailed. Now it was in the region of this general scope that the conflicts between the

true prophets and those whom we call false took place. It was probably also in this region that the persecution of the prophets by such rulers as Manasseh and Jehoiakim was carried on. The prophets might have preached to their hearts' content about the nature of Jehovah and the worship that was fitting or pleasing to Him, if they had not gone further and drawn inferences as to the destiny of the state. Jehoiakim showed his indifference to Jeremiah's preaching or his contempt for it by cutting up his roll with a penknife and flinging it piecemeal into the grate; it was only when near the end of the roll he found the assertion that Nebuchadnezzar would come and destroy the land and cause man and beast to cease from it that he ordered the prophet's arrest (Jer. xxxvi. 29 with xxv. 9, 10). The prophets were not persecuted because their doctrines were thought false, but because their conclusions were held treasonable. We, to whom the canonical prophecies are without controversy the word of God always need to remind ourselves of the conditions of the society to which they were first delivered, of the comparatively uneducated conscience, the divided opinions and the interests at stake. And we need to remind ourselves of the long process through which these prophecies have secured universal recognition. They have done so by commending themselves to the conscience of mankind and by educating it; and in Israel at least this internal evidence of their own was corroborated by the verdict pronounced in their favour by history and providence in the downfall of the state.

2. There were several kinds of false prophecy which are of little interest and which it is enough to mention. (1) Originally the distinction between priests and prophets does not appear to have been very sharp. The prophets were cenobites, and in early times are found clustering round the local sanctuaries of Jehovah worship. Down to the end of the state numbers of them appear to have been connected

with the temple. Pashhur, who thrust Jeremiah into the stocks, is called a prophet. These persons had some sort of official position, and were the leaders or counsellors of the people in religion and affairs of state—for in Israel religion translated into action was politics. There are always unworthy members in an official class, like the undisciplined stragglers in an army. It is not surprising that there were prophets intent only on gaining a living, who prophesied for hire, and whose prophecies were naturally just what their audience wanted to hear. Amaziah, the priest of Jeroboam, appears to have formed his opinion of all prophets from this class. "Seer," he says to Amos, "get thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread and prophesy there" (Am. vii. 12). But a less prejudiced witness can be cited: "Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people err, that when their teeth have something to bite cry Peace; but he that putteth not into their mouths they declare war against him" (Mic. iii. 5).

(2) Another class may be passed over—those who prophesied by other gods than Jehovah. Jeremiah speaks of prophets who prophesied by Baal. It is always difficult to interpret the expression "Baal." In later times it is often a mere term of obloquy for whatever is false or unworthy in religion. Prophets who spoke in the name of other gods than Jehovah would not be numerous, for the fundamental article that Jehovah alone was God of Israel was known to all the people. It is undeniable, however, that a stream of idolatry of more or less breadth did overrun the country during the last reigns of the kings of Judah. Many things contributed to this. For a century and a half Judah was subject to the great empires of the East. These imposing empires could not but in many ways affect the small subject state with their thought, their customs, and their religion. Already in Isaiah's day the land was "filled from the East." The repeated deportations of the inhabitants by Assyria and

Babylon also had a very injurious effect upon religion. In all cases it was the higher classes who were carried away, men the best instructed in religion and holding the faith of Jehovah most purely. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel testify that the religious flower of the nation went into exile with Jehoiachin in 597. A lower stratum of society rose to the surface and assumed the conduct of affairs, men less instructed in religion, more easily swayed by the fanaticism of their religious leaders, and from their social position more in contact with the aboriginal populations, and liable to have the taint of their immoralities. It is in Deuteronomy and later books that the abominations of the Canaanites first come into prominence and are legislated against. The nation was broken, and the national decay was accompanied by a degeneration both of morals and religion, for in all the history of Israel a high national spirit and a powerful faith in Jehovah were the counterparts of one another. The condition of things in that age was unspeakably perplexed. Calamity after calamity had fallen on the state. Jehovah seemed no longer to protect it. Men said, "Jehovah seeth us not; Jehovah hath forsaken the land" (Ezek. viii. 12). And they turned to other gods for succour. The wretched exiles who haled Jeremiah with them into Egypt thus addressed him, their wives being the speakers: "As for the word which thou hast spoken to us in the name of Jehovah, we will not hearken unto thee; but we will certainly burn incense to the queen of heaven, as we have done, we and our fathers, for then had we plenty of bread and were well and saw no evil" (Jer. xliv. 16). Such elements of confusion existed among the people, and so severe were human sufferings that men turned to one god after another, hopeful that some of them might help them. And every direction of this sort had its mouthpiece, its prophet.

(3) There is another kind of false prophecy which need not be enlarged upon, not that it is not very important, but

rather because it falls under the more general head which is to follow—the prophecy which made use of augury, divination of various kinds, necromancy and other appliances to reach the mind of the Deity. The true prophecy was an inspiration, a communion of mind with mind—Jehovah spoke in the heart of the prophet to his heart. And the prophet appears to have been conscious of this external element not himself. Prophecy may be said to have been the intuition of truth accompanied by—not the conviction, but—the consciousness that God was giving it. Possibly Jeremiah alludes to this when, in opposition to the false prophets, he analyses his own mind and speaks of the true prophet as “standing in the council of the Lord.” Deuteronomy proscribes all these arts of divination, and it may be a question whether they were survivals from the religion of premosaic Israel, or mere Canaanite superstitions which had infected the true Israelitish prophecy. Even in Saul’s time they were felt to be alien to the religion of Jehovah, though Isaiah alludes more than once to their practice in his day. Whatever their origin, they were probably submerged by the full tide of the Jehovah religion in the heyday of the state and only showed their heads when the tide receded in the days of national decline. So far as such arts were employed by prophets of Jehovah their use implied a defective conception of His nature. His spirituality was very imperfectly apprehended.

3. The most interesting kind of false prophecy, as well as the most common, is that which we find among men all nominally prophets of the Lord. Men who alike spoke in the name of Jehovah and practised no forbidden methods of reaching the Divine will, but in common regarded it as a thing revealed in the heart, were found not infrequently to give forth as Jehovah’s word conflicting judgments. They advised contrary steps in a political emergency, or they predicted diverse issues in regard to

some enterprise on which they were consulted. Thus in connexion with the expedition to Ramoth Gilead, "the King of Israel gathered prophets together, 400, who said to him, 'Go up, for the Lord hath delivered it into the hand of the king.'" But Micah ben Jimlah said, "I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills as sheep that have not a shepherd" (1 Kings xxii.). Now the 400 were false prophets, and Micah was a true prophet. The Lord spoke by him and not by them. That is true. But is it all that can be said? False prophets are defined to be those by whom Jehovah did not speak, and the definition is always true; but is there not also a truth in the other way of putting it, that the Lord did not speak by these prophets because they were false? Was His speaking or not speaking by them a mere occurrence, isolated, inexplicable, in no connexion with history or the general conduct and mind of these prophets or their relation to the principles of the religion of Israel? A very significant hint is given in reference to these prophets and their relation to the king and his character in the expressions he uses regarding Micah: "I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil." The 400 prophesied good to godless and idolatrous princes, such as Ahab was; the other, like the prophets who followed him, could only prophesy evil to such men; they could only express the law of Jehovah's righteous government, that disaster follows sin. In the opposing judgments of Micah and the 400 we see wholly differing views in regard to the nature of Jehovah and His Kingdom and in regard to the character and rule of Ahab. Both the true prophecy and the false have a soil in the past out of which they grew; they are both historical phenomena marking different degrees of insight into the nature of Jehovah and the principles of the religion of Israel. When our Lord said, "Every one that is of the truth heareth

My voice," He did not mean by being "of the truth" having a certain cast of mind with an affinity for the truth, which feels and embraces truth, even though new, so soon as it is presented; he rather meant sincerity and fidelity to the truth already known. His judgment applies to the people of Israel as much as to men of his own time.

It is extremely difficult to gain a just or clear conception of the religious condition of Israel at any time of its history. And yet without it we cannot judge men's conduct fairly, or even understand it. The people on entering Palestine did not drive out the Canaanites or exterminate them, they settled down beside them in many places (Judg. i.), and eventually absorbed them. The Canaanites became Israelites. But in becoming Israelites the native populations could not but carry over into the life and thought of Israel much of their own debased religion and morals. They tainted the life as well as the blood of the conquerors. Further, the tribes in their isolation from one another found sanctuaries of deity ready to their hand in the native high places. These they adopted as places of Jehovah worship. The traditional Baal worship at such places naturally infected the worship of Jehovah. Here and there, where the natives greatly outnumbered the conquering race, Israelites may have gone over to the worship of Baal. But in the main what followed was an assimilation of the service of Jehovah to the native worship and an obscuration of the loftier ethical conception of the God of Israel, who sank down nearly to the level of a nature-god, whose office was to give the people their bread and water, their wool and flax, their oil and their drinks (Hos. ii. 5). Again, Baal, though originally one, had become differentiated into many baals by the localities where he was worshipped, at each of which the rites might differ and the conception of the

god vary. The same followed in the case of Jehovah—He became many Jehovahs. Hence Amos speaks of “thy god, O Dan” and the way of Beersheba (viii. 14); and possibly Deuteronomy says, “Hear, O Israel, Jehovah thy God is one Jehovah.” And when Hosea speaks of “the days (feasts) of the baals” (ii. 13), he hardly refers to the service of Baal as another god than Jehovah, but rather to the Jehovahs of the many high places. These with their images had become so many baals. The conception of Jehovah in the people’s mind was one which Jehovah could not recognise as the conception of *Him*; hence He says in Amos, “Seek Me, and seek not unto Bethel” (v. 5). Ostensibly and in name the people worshipped Jehovah, but the conception which they had of Him and the service they rendered Him were proper rather to Baal. Nevertheless, the ancient Mosaic conception of the God of Israel and knowledge of Him still lived. It animated many in all ages. The prophets, in seeking to inspire men with a purer idea of God, are conscious of being no innovators. They stand on the old paths. Jehovah, as they conceive Him, is the historical God of Israel (Hos. xiii. 4). It is the people who have changed (Isa. i. 4; Jer. ii. 5–8).

Thus an antagonism between two parties pervades the whole history of Israel. It fills the pages of all the prophets, and takes action in the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, in the counter-reform of Manasseh and the reaction or *laissez-faire* of the princes of the house of Josiah. It is an antagonism between two conceptions of Jehovah, and in practice two ways of serving Him. Now, broadly speaking, the two classes of prophets, true and false, were the spokesmen of these two conceptions. To the one class Jehovah was the national God of Israel, with which He was indissolubly allied. He must therefore put forth His power to save His people and destroy those who laid

sacrilegious hands on His holy abode. They laid much stress on His power, little, if any, on His moral being, and therefore little on the moral condition of the people. Hence their optimism; they saw nothing alarming in the social state of the people, and they prophesied peace. The true prophets, on the other hand, had their minds filled with the conception of the moral being of Jehovah, of His righteousness; and this idea at once cut asunder the bond between Him and Israel as a nation. As a mere nationality Israel was nothing to Him; as He says in Amos, "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto Me, O House of Israel?" He could be God only of a righteous nation. Thus the true prophets were all in a sense pessimists. Looking on the condition of the people, they could only prophesy disaster. Jeremiah, as usual, has brought this point under reflection, and not without a touch of paradox declares that the mark of a true prophet is that he prophesies evil (xxviii. 8). The false prophets of his time cherish the same conceptions of Jehovah as the people did in Amos' day, and as they did in their own day. They stand on no higher level than the mass; hence they share their aspirations and are ever ready to second their projects. Ezekiel satirises this subserviency not without wit when he says that the people build a jerry wall and the prophets set it out with whitewash (xiii. 11).

The ethical conception of Jehovah held by the canonical prophets created a cleft between Him and the people. It was no more Jehovah with Israel but Jehovah *versus* Israel. And this explains what is very curious in the prophets—their gradual abandonment of the idea of the kingdom of God as a state and their movement towards that conception of it which is called a Church. What was essential in the kingdom of God was not its form but its nature, the godliness of the people. Perish the state, but live the community of believers! This was the patriotism

of the prophets ; that of the false prophets was much more intelligible. And this ethical nature of the true prophecy is really its characteristic and that by which it is to be estimated and not by the literal fulfilment of its predictive details. The predictions were only embodiments of the ethical and religious principles, projections often so ideal that they could not be literally realized. But the great general scope of the prophetic outlook regarding the destinies of the kingdom of God, whether nearer or more remote, was verified. And, as has been said, it was in the region of this general scope that they came into conflict with that other class of prophets whom the verdict of history has pronounced false.

Some modern writers on prophecy have exhibited a good deal of sympathy with the false prophets, and one scholar has expressed his regret that all their productions have perished and that we have only the judgment of their adversaries upon them, and cannot hear them in their own defence. Nothing that we know regarding them would lead us to believe that their works, if any, would have added anything to the religious or ethical treasures of mankind. And we may acquiesce in the judgment of their countrymen and the judgment of Providence and time which allowed them to perish.

It is allowed that, judged from the point of view of a true spiritual Jehovah worship and pure morality such as we now recognise and such as the canonical prophets preached—from this point of view these prophets were false. Their own position and their requirements from men were below this ideal standard. This is admitted ; but it is said that this was more their misfortune than their fault. It was not due to any declension on their part, but to an advance on the part of the prophets called true, which outran the abilities both of the people in general and of the body of the prophets. The true prophets, as we call

them, were always in a minority because the nation could not keep pace with them. And the prophets called false were so because like the people they moved more slowly, adhered to a former standing point, and were thus left behind by the more advanced prophets and denounced by them. But the denunciation was inconsiderate; the true prophets forgot that the divergence or opposition between themselves and those whom they denounced was due to their own forward march, which had left others behind, who in a former age might have been regarded as occupying a very good position.

This view raises a wider question than can here be followed. Even if true, it would not affect our judgment that these prophets fell below the ideal standard; it would only show how they naturally or perhaps inevitably came to do so. It is very doubtful if this view as a whole will eventually satisfy students of the religious history of Israel. The elements of truth which it contains, however, may teach us to form a gentler estimate of the individual men among these prophets, to allow more weight to the perplexities in which they were involved and the circumstances that determined their minds; and this by giving a broader scope to our view of the times and of human thought will not be a loss but a gain to us. We shall none the less wonder at that divine light cast into the minds of the prophets whose writings have become the heritage of mankind, which enabled them on each occasion to interpret Jehovah's nature rightly to the people, and to give them counsel always in the line of the true principles of the kingdom of God.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

THE INCARNATION-PARABLE.

IN recent years much earnest labour has been bestowed by students of the New Testament on the attempt to realise, as much as may be, the condition of the early Christian society after their Master had been received up. These inquiries have been directed in the main to attaining a fuller insight into the sources and growth of those written records which have come down to us from the primitive Church, and to answering those interesting questions which arise in great numbers out of a comparison of the Gospel narratives one with another. Many and profitable have been the results of this study, and not least to be welcomed is the evidence it has supplied that, for the great work to which Jesus had sent them, the apostolic band were (as men would judge) but feebly equipped; so that we more than ever appreciate how entirely the progress which they were able to make in founding the Church of Christ must be set down not to the human instruments, but to the power from on high with which they were endued.

But such investigations may afford other fruit. While they help us to appreciate the weakness of the agents and to understand their needs, they may also point out to us how the supply of some of those needs was cared for in anticipation, though the provision made was not understood till the Spirit had taken of things of Christ, and made known their full import.

The commission given to the Apostles asked powers beyond any they possessed. The world was to be won for Christ. But the message which they had to deliver was one at the first words of which the world was sure to stumble. They were the heralds of the greatest of mysteries, the mystery of God incarnate. They were to

teach others to believe of their Master, even as they themselves believed ; to persuade the world that the Jesus whose ministers they were was the very Son of God, sent down from heaven ; that He had willingly left the home of His glory, taken upon Him human nature, and lived and died that in Him mankind might have redemption, might taste the consolation for which Israel had been taught to hope.

As means for the accomplishment of this mighty enterprise, the Apostles at the Ascension had for their text only the oral lessons of Jesus and the story of His life. And of this they had only been witnesses during the years of His public ministry. Doubtless they had heard those narratives of the Nativity, and of those Divine messages which preceded it, and of which such simple records are given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. They had lived in some companionship with the Virgin-mother, and she was among those who, after the Ascension, waited with them in Jerusalem for the promise of the Father. To her all the wondrous things which she had pondered in her heart were now made clear. The sword of which Simeon spake had pierced through her soul. And we cannot doubt that the disciple to whose home she had been commended had been told much of the angel visits and heavenly visions that had preceded the Saviour's birth. Those forty days, in which the Lord's rare and fitful appearances prepared them for His entire departure, were a time to prompt and to suit with communings like these.

But it was not from human lips that the first preachers were to derive their most helpful instruction concerning the Incarnation or to draw that confirmation which might establish them in their faith. They had the promise of another Comforter when Jesus should depart, and to that promise it was added that a special portion of the Spirit's office should be to bring to their remembrance whatever Jesus had told them. But it was to be no simple reiteration

of the Master's words. The Holy Spirit was to take those things, the acts and sayings which they treasured as specially belonging to Jesus, and to declare (*ἀναγγέλλειν*) them in their full meaning and significance.

Much, nay, almost everything, which they had heard in those three years was replete with such instruction as, unaided, they could not fathom; many things there were to be opened out of His lessons which, before the Spirit was given to support them, they could not bear. They needed strength as well as illumination, and, lest their hearts should fail, Jesus left much in parables spoken or acted which, when expounded by the Holy Spirit, was to clear and confirm, to them and to others, the doctrines which they were sent to publish.

One of these veiled lessons was given to them in what we may call the Incarnation-parable. It was just when our Lord's life was drawing to a close that it was acted out before them. He knew, says St. John (xiii. 1), that the hour was come that He should depart from the world and then He showed to His beloved ones His love (*εἰς τέλος*) to the uttermost. They were all gathered about Him, and had eaten a meal together. Then, conscious of His approaching departure, He expressed in outward action the fulness of His humiliation. To the uttermost he descended in abasement, that herein they might have a measure of His love. But He wrought in such wise that at the moment they comprehended only a part of His lesson, while there was stored in it a teaching which in the future the Spirit should illumine and declare in its fullest meaning. He, their Lord and Master, rose from the supper, and, having laid aside His garments, took a towel and girded Himself therewith. Then He poured out water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded.

That Jesus had in mind the deep significance of His

lowly act, that He intended this humiliation to receive in days to come its full explanation, that He meant it to be left among the things which the Spirit should expound to the hearts of His servants, is plain from what He presently said to St. Peter. The Apostle scrupled to accept the lowly service from his Lord. Jesus put aside his hesitating question, "Dost Thou wash my feet?" saying only, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." The words are however strikingly significant. Thou knowest not (*οἶδας*), thou hast no full, complete knowledge, but (*γνώσῃ*) thou shalt be brought to know, shalt learn with ever-growing clearness hereafter. The act which was performed and the self-abasement of Jesus therein were fully comprehended by St. Peter. Hence his reluctance to suffer it. But behind what all of them could see at the moment there lay a deeper meaning which they could not fully grasp of themselves, nay, of which they would be learning more and more as life went on, even the love of Christ, which is beyond all learning.

In after days they would see how in that scene they had an epitome of the whole history of the Incarnation. He who rose from the supper was the Son of God, who had freely left His home with the Father and laid aside His heavenly glory, had deigned to clothe His divinity in the vesture of human flesh, and, though very God, to be found in fashion as a man; and in His humanity had suffered humiliation, indignities, mockery, and at last death itself, that by His suffering He might wash men from their sins.

The "hereafter" of which Jesus spake began on the day of Pentecost. Not only were the tongues of the Apostles loosed, but the eyes of their understanding were enlightened on that day. And as we read the Gospel story in this chapter of St. John, we can see how much of confirmation there would be given by it, when they were made to comprehend it, to all that they had heard from Joseph or Mary.

The parable of the washing would receive its interpretation, and would stand to them as the Lord's own assurance. They would feel no need of a narrative from the lips of any one, but could declare (after the manner of the Samaritan people to the woman who had brought them her report of the Christ), "We believe not because of any saying of others; we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

In the washing of their feet Jesus gave His disciples a sacrament, an outward sign of what His love and grace had effected for man's redemption. The symbolical action figured for them the wondrous humiliation of the Divine Son, and supplied, when unfolded, a spiritual conviction of its truth. And it is set down for all time, the Lord's own testimony to the verity of the Incarnation. It is veiled, as so many of His lessons were, but it is so delivered that it may stimulate the penetration and awaken the spiritual discernment of those who have eyes and desire to see, who have ears and desire to hear.

But in the sequel of this acted parable the Divine Instructor has gone farther, and supplied lessons full of comfort and help, first to His disciples, then to all those who hereafter shall believe on Him through their word. For the condition and attitude of St. Peter is constantly reproduced in Christian lives. The Apostle and his companions had confessed that they saw in Jesus the Son of the living God. But yet how halting that faith was had been shown as soon as the Master began to speak of His coming sufferings. "Be it far from thee. This shall not be unto Thee" (Matt. xvi. 22) was an utterance which betrayed that the whole mission of Christ, all the purpose of the coming of God to man, had neither been accepted nor understood. And they manifested, through their spokesman, the same imperfect faith still: "Lord, dost Thou, my Lord and Master, wash the feet of me, a man so sinful?" and in that passionate

rejection of the lowly aspect of Divine condescension, "Lord, Thou shalt never wash my feet."

It is ever the same struggle. It has to be faced and mastered in the experience of every Christian age, nay, in every Christian life. Till it be mastered the fulness of faith is never attained. Men know of Christ in some sort, they make a confession of Him, and hold it for very real. But when the test comes, which asks for obedient submission, for the acceptance of things which are not known as yet, but only dimly shadowed forth in sacramental figure, when the steps must go forward in faith, there is opposition awakened in various wise. It seems impossible to accept Christ's grace manifested in His humiliation and suffering as a free gift. Men feel at one time as if the washing of Christ were far more than they are meet to receive, and withal there arises a longing to do something of themselves for their own purification. They would have their part in the cleansing process, and cannot leave it to the Lord, cannot be assured that He knows, while they are in ignorance.

But the love of the Master endures to the uttermost; He helps the imperfect rudimentary faith by a lesson that makes clear to men their own helplessness. "Unless I wash thee," were His words to St. Peter, "thou hast no part with Me." And here again the Lord's words show us that we are moving in the realm of parable; that it is a spiritual cleansing of which He speaks, a purification such as will unite men to Himself, and of which the washing of the body is but a figure. The terrible alternative came as a shock to the Apostle. To have no part in his Master's love, in his Master's service; at such a prospect, he, who with his eager frailty was soon about to profess, "Though I die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee," was overwhelmed with dismay; and, impulsive as ever, he rushes to the opposite extreme and begs, "Lord, wash not my feet only, but also my hands and my head."

In the answer to His Apostle's change of mind, we come upon another word of Jesus, which was intended to wait for the Spirit's unfolding, but which, since the day when St. Peter preached, "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins," Christians can hardly hesitate to refer to the sacrament of Baptism, that institution of Christ by which believers are received into His family, brought to have a part in Him. "He that hath been washed" (λελουμένος), are His words, "needeth not save to wash (νίψασθαι) his feet, but is clean altogether." The altered word at once suggests another sense of washing, even that to which the Apostle to the Hebrews (x. 22) alludes as having for its accompaniment the sprinkling of the heart from an evil conscience, and which is the outward sign of the loosing from sins by Christ's own blood (Rev. i. 5). He that hath been thus washed, who has accepted in faith that washing which is an assurance of the cleansing of the heart by the sacrifice of Jesus, he will need, it is true, the constant purification from those sins by which he is beset in his daily life, but yet he will be clean. He will feel as long as he is in the world that sin lives in him and needs to be resisted, but his desire and constant effort will be not to live in sin. And such a one God for Christ's sake will accept, even as Peter and his fellows were accepted and sent forth to be the witnesses for Jesus.

"Ye are clean," says He, and afterwards (John xv. 3) enlarges on the saying: "Ye are clean because of the word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in Me." They were in Him as branches in the vine, a part of Himself, but still dependent on His support and sustenance. But that support was certain. And so He says, "Ye are clean"; and the spirit of His words has been repeated in that constant expression of the apostolic writers, when they speak of those who have been received into Christ's Church as

already "saints," "called to be saints," because in spite of many infirmities they call on the Lord out of a pure heart. Like the Apostles, their spirit is willing though their flesh be weak. And though in their lives there is many a spot and stain, the laver of repentance washes these away, and with thankful hearts they recognise the mercy which says of them too, "Ye are clean through the word."

In this way the parable and its sequel, left to the disciples, that through the illumination of the Spirit they might draw from it confirmation and assurance, becomes luminous to every succeeding age. In new generations there arise new aims and new trials, but they who humbly seek to have their part in Christ know (with St. Paul) whom they have believed, and that knowledge and faith makes them clean, clean through the word, and they learn ever more and more of the love of Christ which passeth all learning and is an ever-opening prospect of help and grace ; and in joys and trials alike they find the words of the Divine Master a strong stay : "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

J. RAWSON LUMBY.

FORMS OF CLASSIFICATION IN ACTS.

THE author of *Acts* speaks of the pair of missionary travellers, Paul and Barnabas (or of the other pair, Paul and Silas) sometimes as *ὁ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* (e.g., xiii. 2, 50; xv. 22; xvi. 29), sometimes as *ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁ Βαρνάβας* (e.g., xiii. 43, 46; xv. 2; xvi. 19; xvii. 10), and sometimes as *Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* (xv. 2, 12, 35). The question suggests itself whether any difference of sense is intended in this variation, or whether it is purely accidental, or whether any difference of style, implying either variety of authorship or the use of different authorities by one author, has been the cause of the variety of expression. The purpose of this paper is to show that a difference of sense between *ὁ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* and the other two is intended, and that the same adaptation of grammatical form to express difference of meaning runs throughout *Acts* as a whole or in great part. The subject is slippery, and involves too much of mere subjective opinion to be trustworthy except as subsidiary to other investigations;¹ but it seems worthy of consideration, if only to give to others the opportunity of refuting or of modifying the tentative opinion here stated.

Two persons may be clothed with joint authority, and form really a board of two officials created by a definite act of authority. In that case they constitute a *duumvirate*, a *collegium*² or committee of two, able to act with united

¹ Especially there is always a danger of mixing up the use of the article to indicate previous mention with the use suggested here. I quite acknowledge this and other possibilities. Every person with grammatical interests begins by trying to find rules or at least tendencies to rule in the use of the article by any single writer; and almost every one ends by recognising the impossibility of discovering any rule. My old master in grammar, Prof. Theodor Benfey, of Göttingen, always urged that there is never any rule in such subjects, but only a tendency (often modified by circumstances) towards a rule.

² I use this term roughly: strictly each *collega* possesses individually the

authority as it was delegated to them; and they may justly be designated as a unity, grouped together not by a capricious or arbitrary act of the writer's mind founded on accidental juxtaposition, but by real connexion. Moreover these two individuals, of course, do not always act as a single body; many of their actions are performed by each separately as an individual. A writer who possessed a fine sense for delicate distinctions might, in speaking of such a pair of individuals, distinguish between the occasions on which they act as a duumvirate and those on which they act as separate individuals, even though performing similar or even identical actions. The distinction is a delicate one; but I think that the author of *Acts* was guided by it when he varied between *ὁ Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* the duumvirate,¹ and *ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁ Βαρνάβας* or *Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας* the individuals.²

An enumeration of the cases in which each form is used by the writer of *Acts* will show that he had this distinction in his mind. In the following cases he is speaking of a duumvirate: the united pair, Paul and Barnabas, is set apart for the work xiii. 2, arouses persecution by its work xiii. 50, and has its number increased by two xv. 22.³ But after Paul's speech, they separately and individually addressed meetings, xiii. 43, 46; they separately disputed with the Judaizing brethren, xv. 2, and separately made

whole power of his office, whereas a committee only possesses power collectively.

¹ Dr. Chase seems to be in agreement on this point (EXPOSITIO, Dec., 1893, p. 407 note), for he most correctly defines what may be deduced from the common article, p. 407, n: "Those indicated are so closely united that they can be represented as a single foundation (*Eph.* ii. 20), as the recipients of a single revelation (iii. 5)." *O si sic omnia!*

² There is probably a distinction between the last two, but it is *literary* rather than *real*, and therefore does not concern this investigation.

³ xv. 25 does not violate the rule; the grammatical form couples the pair in another way by the phrase "our beloved." But in any case the passage is professedly a quotation from a decree which is given *verbatim*, and not composed by the author of *Acts*.

speeches to the meeting in Jerusalem xv. 12 (here no article at all is used); and the two strangers, and not the united body of two officials, were summoned to his presence by the curious proconsul (xiii. 7). Again the gaoler makes a single prostration in the Oriental style before the pair, Paul and Silas, not two prostrations before each separately, xvi. 29;¹ but in xvi. 19, xvii. 10, they are as individuals arrested by distinct acts, and similarly smuggled out of the city.

In xvii. 4 we find a case of a very delicate kind: the reading is doubtful, and Westcott and Hort give a primary reading τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σίλῳ, and a secondary τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Σίλῳ.² The latter, which B alone has among the great MSS., is probably to be preferred as giving the better sense: the converts adhered to Paul and Barnabas as representing in their union a belief and a principle. There is a marked contrast between the sense of this passage and xiii. 43, where the crowd followed after Paul and Barnabas from curiosity and interest, hoping naturally to hear speeches from each of these two individuals (ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρνάβῳ).

It might seem to violate the rule that in xv. 2, when the brotherhood at Antioch arranged that Paul and Barnabas and certain others should go up to Jerusalem, the common article is not used. But on consideration we see that this is not a suitable case. Paul and Barnabas are not here a duumvirate; they are nominated one by one as members of a large deputation; they speak one by one at Jerusalem (xv. 12). But in xv. 22 they are treated by the apostles as already invested with authority, and two individuals are nominated (first one and then another) to be associated with them.

¹ This case is markedly different from xiii. 43, where the crowd follows the two individuals from curiosity to hear their separate speeches.

² Tischendorf reads τῷ Σίλῳ.

It is, perhaps, pressing the rule too far ; but apparently, even larger bodies are treated in the same way, xiii. 1¹ and i. 13 ; whereas seven individuals are one by one selected for the official duty of deacons, vi. 5.² Four species of the *genus* which Cicero would call the *miseri* are united in *Luke* xiv. 21. But there are too few examples to permit a judgment as to the writer's practice in respect of larger bodies.

If the distinction which has been here insisted on is correct, it follows that Silas and Timothy could never be contemplated as a duumvirate, for no official authority was delegated to them. Paul and Barnabas were set apart for a special duty by the Divine selection and by the imposition of hands by the brotherhood of Antiochian Christians xiii. 2 f. ; and the same action of the brotherhood may be confidently understood as implied in xv. 40.³ But Silas and Timothy, though travelling in company and performing a special duty for some time, are not said to have had a joint office conferred on them ; and accordingly they are never mentioned as *ὁ Σίλας καὶ Τιμόθεος*, but three times as *ο Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος* (xvii. 14, 15 ; xviii. 5).

We now take the classification of places. In a writer whose interests are geographical, the fact of geographical contiguity would be a proper and sufficient reason for classifying two or three districts as a unity. But to a writer whose interests lie in a different direction mere proximity is not

¹ If this is right, xiii. 1 would mean that there was a definite body of prophets and teachers in the Antiochian brotherhood, constituting it an organized Church, as distinguished from a mere congregation of "the brethren." I put all this in the most tentative fashion.

² If the seven were afterwards enumerated as a board (as the twelve are in i. 13), they would be held together by the common article, if the principle could be pressed to such an extreme, which is doubtful.

³ The same expression is used about the charge given by the brotherhood to Paul and Barnabas xiv. 26, "they had been committed to the grace of God," as about Paul and Silas xv. 40, "being commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord" (*παράδομένοι* and *παράδοθέντες*).

a sufficient cause for uniting two districts; he requires some stronger reason. Either the unity must be forced on him by the political facts, or there must be some moral or intellectual bond between them which couples them in his mind. To the author of *Acts* the missionary interest was strong; and, if two districts were united in a single missionary enterprise, or otherwise held together by some tie of missionary connexion, that would constitute them a real, organic unity to him; but if, on the other hand, we find on examination that places or districts are grouped together by the common article in *Acts* on mere ground of contiguity, the principle for which we are contending cannot be maintained. If that principle is correct, we shall find a deeper unity in such connexions. Geographical interest is not sufficiently strong in the writer's mind to form a link of classification.

In the following passages two or three districts or places are classed as a unity under the binding power of the common article; but there is more than mere geographical contiguity to serve as a bond of connexion between them. Thus in xv. 3 we have two parts of the province Syria¹ united as τὴν τε Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμαρίαν² in the journey (which was accompanied with preaching)³ to Jerusalem. Here is a unity in missionary enterprise as well as in political connexion. Again in xix. 21 the writer makes τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαλίαν a unity. They were not, it is true,

¹ The minute details of the relation between the province Syria and the parts, which have often been stated, need not be given here.

² Dr. Bliss is probably right in reading Σαμαρείαν with A B and many other MSS. The balance of evidence is delicate in most cases; but Ptolemy and Josephus seem to have Σαμαρεία.

³ This journey was more than a mere ascent to Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas took the opportunity of announcing the new departure in the Church's method and the "opening of the door of faith to the Gentiles" (xiv. 27) to a wide circle of hearers in Phœnicie and Samaria, as distinguished from Judæa (where the news would not have been so welcome). An organic unity connects the two.

a single province when the journey was made, but the writer had grown up regarding them as a single province;¹ and, if the view that he was a Macedonian be correct (as I think it is), it would be natural to him to look on Achaia and Macedonia as one morally and intellectually, constituting in their unity the great country of Greece. An Athenian would have denied the right of Macedonia to be united in this way with Greece; but the Macedonians maintained that they were Greeks, not barbarians. Moreover, the thought in the writer's mind is here that Paul purposed to review the whole body of his European churches before he revisited Jerusalem.

In xviii. 23 τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν form a strict unity, both as two districts of the province Galatia and as constituting the group of Galatic churches, if we take the South-Galatian view. But, on the North-Galatian theory they do not form a unity except geographically; one is a Roman province, the other (Phrygia) is a piece of a different Roman province; one is Paul's group of the churches of Galatia, the other is a fragment of his group of the churches of Asia.

A difficult case occurs in xv. 41, where the reading is uncertain; Westcott and Hort (as in xvii. 4) admit a primary and a secondary reading; but doubtless Tischendorf and Blass are right in preferring τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν with the majority of the great MSS.² It is practically certain that Syria and Roman Cilicia were included in a single province throughout the first century of our era;³ this

¹ They were united as a single province from 146 to 27 B.C., and from 15 to 44 A.D.

² τὴν is repeated in B and D.

³ There is some obscurity and controversy as to details; but so much is certain, that Cilicia was ruled by the governor of Syria at the beginning of the century, and that near the end of the century (under Domitian or very soon after him) there was still in existence at Antioch as capital of the province a festival κοινὴ Συρίας Κιλικίας Φωνίκης.

unity therefore was forced on the author, and probably Paul would have classed his churches of Syria and Cilicia together as one mission field with Antioch as centre.¹ In the letter to the brethren in Syria and Cilicia xv. 23 the same view is taken which we attribute to Paul.

The reason is obvious why we find as a united pair viii. 1 τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρίας;² and in ix. 31 the three parts of the Holy Land are united τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρίας.³

On the other hand, in xvii. 1 we find τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, for these two neighbouring cities belonged to different districts, Edonis and Mygdonia,⁴ though they were in one province, Macedonia. They do not naturally form a unity except in mere geographical proximity.

It is in some degree a parallel point of literary method, that, though Lystra and Derbe are in some ways a pair and are strongly marked as members of one class in xiv. 6,⁵ yet in xvi. 1 it is necessary to hold them absolutely separate and to emphasize that they are not classed as a unity, in order to make it clear that the following sentence is true only of Lystra; and hence the governing preposition is repeated εἰς Δέρβην καὶ εἰς Λύστραν.

One exception must be made to our statement about the want of geographical interest in the author of *Acts*. He had a far keener interest in sea-travel than in land-travel; though he was not a sailor, as is clear from many points in

¹ It is remarkable that the same doubt exists in *Gal.* i. 21 as in *Acts* xv. 41. Tischendorf there reads τῆς Κιλικίας, here Κιλικίαν without the article.

² Here also Dr. Blass prefers Σαμαρίας, as I think rightly.

³ Blass, as elsewhere, has Σαμαρίας.

⁴ In my *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158 note, it is argued from *Acts* xvi. 12 that Macedonia was divided into *μερίδες*, and we might fairly use this passage as an argument that the two cities belonged to different *μερίδες*. The writer had the idea of these divisions in his mind when writing the account of the journey across Macedonia.

⁵ Where the expression τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας Δέρβην καὶ Λύστραν is similar in construction to xv. 22, τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἡμῶν Βαρνάβαν καὶ Παύλον, which has been noticed already.

his language, he must have seen a great deal of the sea, and acquired familiarity with ships.¹ It is obvious in xx., xxi., xxvii., xxviii., with what love he notes little incidents of the voyage, partly indeed because then he was travelling with his teacher, but partly also from the true Greek instinct for the sea and all connected with it. Hence xxvii. 5 τὸ πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν is the expression of a sailor, to whose distant sight the long indivisible Cilico-Pamphylian coast-line is a single conception. This little detail, however, is one of those unintentional touches which mark the first-hand witness, for the author claims to have been present in the ship, and therefore he naturally speaks from the sailor's point of view. As he wrote, the picture of that marvellously beautiful view, with the long line of the coast, and behind it the long mountain wall of Taurus stretching unbroken across Cilicia and Pamphylia from the eastern to the western horizon, stood clear before his memory, and determined his expression. His purpose in this case is purely geographical; he is defining the position of the ship, and describes the line of coast on the right and the left. He is not thinking of the two provinces, Cilicia and Pamphylia, which did not touch one another and therefore could not in any view be taken as a unity, but of the single coast line where the two countries (as sailors spoke of them) unite indistinguishably.²

¹ It was a great pleasure to find the conception of Luke's character and feeling for the sea, which I had formed from independent study, confirmed by the far more experienced judgment of James Smith: see the introduction to his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*.

² This case seems to be one of the strongest of the whole set, but it is my regular experience that the geographical arguments, which to me are far the strongest, fall flat and unheeded on many readers. The delicate tone or tint, which to the eye-witness is the most telling evidence, is naturally lost on those who have not seen it themselves. Here Cilicia is naturally and necessarily used in the common geographical sense in a geographical touch, and not in the Roman sense, for Roman Cilicia was separated from Roman Pamphylia by a wide stretch of country, viz., the *Regnum Antiochi* (see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 94) See p. 38 below.

The result, then, which I venture to state in the hope of eliciting criticism, is that, where in *Acts* the common article is used to bind together two persons or places or classes, the meaning and the intellectual attitude of the writer will be made clearer to us if we substitute for the enumeration of separate items some single term expressing the unity of the group (*e.g.*, "the European churches" in xix. 21), though literary art and the want of suitable general names prevent the author from using the more complicated form which is often required to express the unifying idea. Further, the unifying idea is never a mere capricious or arbitrary one, but stands in close relation to actual facts and to the permanent and guiding purpose of the author; his mental attitude and historical method become clearer and more definite to us as we examine the classes which he constructs.

Almost every train of minute reasoning about *Acts* brings us to the central question as to the two Galatian theories. The question is so fundamental, that it affects almost every general enquiry whether in regard to *Acts* as a history and as a literary composition, or in regard to Paul's policy and character. You can hardly make a step in advance without assuming consciously or unconsciously an attitude towards this fundamental question. In xvi. 6 the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν is taken on the North-Galatian theory as a closely united pair, Phrygia and Galatia. That is a distinct violation of the principle which we have been examining. They belonged to different provinces, Phrygia being in Asia;¹ and they were on the present occasion strongly contrasted in the writer's mind, for Phrygia was forbidden as a preaching-sphere, while the theory maintains that Galatia was evangelized. I find it impossible

¹ Of course the North-Galatian theorists are bound to this, for if they were to say that here Phrygia means the part of Phrygia included in Galatia, they would be accepting the South Galatian theory.

to express by any unifying single term the pair, as it is here brought together, on the North-Galatian theory.

Another fundamental question that emerges in every minute investigation about *Acts* is the character of the Bezan text. This distinction, which we have found so well maintained in the Eastern Recension, is often violated in *Codex Bezae* (e.g. xv. 35, xvii. 15, xviii. 5), which however might perhaps be explicable as due merely to errors in the transmission of the text.

The principle is not observed in the list of synagogues vi. 9; but that enumeration has always been a difficulty, and the bad form of the list is doubtless due to Luke's being here dependent on an authority whose expression he either transcribed *verbatim* or did not fully understand. Similarly in ii. 9, 10 the form of expression is not Lucan,¹ but is adopted *verbatim* from some authority on whom the writer was dependent in this place.

In xii. 25 we might expect, on this principle, that Barnabas and Saul, who had been sent to Jerusalem from Antioch, should be treated as a unity: the fact mentioned there that their ministry was finished may possibly affect the expression, but that seems too wire-drawn. I cannot claim to find a satisfactory explanation; but it has always appeared to me that a certain slight and yet distinct difference of style exists between the first and the second part of *Acts*. Personally I think that this difference is such as to imply, not difference of authorship, but difference of time and circumstances in the life of the same author.

Connected with the subject there is a point of much significance. Mr. Rendall, in a fine and suggestive article (*EXPOSITOR*, November, 1893) has pointed out that St. Paul classified his churches according to the Roman Pro-

¹ Another reason for the same view (which I imagine will seem self-evident) is given in my *Church in Rom. Emp.*, p. 149.

vinces, Achaia, Macedonia, Asia and Galatia.¹ I think it is clear that the author of *Acts* always uses Roman terms when he mentions missionary districts. This is no slight or accidental point. The Roman political divisions defied and contradicted ethnical affinities, and claimed to rise superior to them; and to choose those divisions as the basis of classification implies a definite and conscious preference of the unifying imperial policy to the disintegrating native policy. The choice implies that, in the great political question of the day in Central Asia Minor between Roman civilization, on the one hand, and native barbarism, favoured by the native religion and priests during the first century, on the other, Paul was on the side of Roman unity and government. Any one who considers what was the attitude of the extra-Palaestinian Jews, and especially of Jewish-Roman citizens, towards the emperors, must feel that this choice was natural and almost necessary for the Roman Paul. The Church Catholic was always, from the earliest moment when we can detect its existence, on the same side; and there is little or no doubt that its determination towards that side was given by Paul. The Church always claimed to be loyal towards the empire; and the tendency of all that I have written on this subject is to show that it was (or became) more imperial than the emperors. When Paul called his converts "Galatians," he in effect bade them remember that they were not barbarian Lycaonians or Phrygians, but members of the great Roman empire. Consideration of the language of *Acts* will, I think, show that the Greek Luke was on the side of his master Paul on this great question. In all classifying expressions he takes the Roman view; though, where he is

¹ I would add to these as a fifth Syria and Cilicia, a single province at the time, see xv. 23 and 41 compared with *Gal.* i. 21 (on the reading see note on p. 32).

simply geographical, he necessarily uses the current geographical terms.

In the following places there occurs, at the point where Paul is entering or intending to enter on the work, a formal definition of the district over which the evangelizing is to extend.

- (1) xiii. 4, Cyprus.
- (2) xiii. 13, Pamphylia.
- (3) xiv. 6, the cities of Lycaonia, Derbe and Lystra, and the region round about.
- (4) xiv. 21, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch.
- (5) xiv. 24, Pamphylia.
- (6) xv. 41, Syria and Cilicia.
- (7) xvi. 1, Derbe and Lystra (a group defined on the same principle as that in xiv. 21).
- (8) xvi. 6, τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν.
- (9) xvi. 6, Asia (this intention was forbidden).
- (10) xvi. 7, Bithynia (intended, but not entered upon).
- (11) xvi. 10, Macedonia.
- (12) xviii. 21, ἡμᾶς.
- (13) xviii. 23, τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν.
- (14) xix. 1, Ἀσίαν (in the Bezan text, but not in the Eastern text).
- (15) xix. 21, τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν.
- (16) xx. 1, Μακεδονίαν.
- (17) xx. 2, Ἑλλάς.

To these may be added incidental expressions of classification, as in xix. 10, all they which dwelt in Asia.

Of these districts, the most remarkable is No. (3). The peculiar phrase is intended simply to define the Roman district and to exclude non-Roman Lycaonia from the range of Paul's work.¹ Only between A.D. 37 (or 41) and 72 was it the case that such a division existed; but in that period there was a distinction between Roman and Antiochian Lycaonia, the former including two cities, Lystra and Derbe, and a stretch of territory in which there were

¹ Confirming the view advocated in my *Church in R. Emp.*, p. 70 and elsewhere, that Paul directed his work to the Roman countries alone; though on p. 68 I found this expression obscure.

no cities but only villages. This division might also be termed Galatic Lycaonia, or, in local usage, simply ἡ Γαλατικὴ χώρα; and in xvi. 1 it is designated by mentioning the two cities.¹ Thus (3), (7), and the first half of (13) are all designations of the same district, each appropriate in its place; and that district has no meaning and no reason except as one of the territories of the Roman province.

But further, all these districts are Roman. Several, of course, of the names have the same denotation in popular usage, but some have no existence except in the Roman provincial system. Cilicia is used here of the Roman territory, and does not designate the entire country then popularly called Cilicia, which included Tracheia and extended as far as the borders of Pamphylia (xxvii. 4). Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia, are used in the Roman sense, not in the Greek or popular sense; to the Greeks Macedonia and Achaia were narrower terms, the former not embracing Philippi, and the latter not embracing Athens;² while Asia was only used by the Greeks to designate the continent in a vague, undefined way, or to denote a very small district near the coast.³ No. (13) designates two divisions of

¹ This was necessitated by the fact that one of them was the scene of an important incident and a considerable stay. But for that, the author would probably have summed up this district with the other district of Galatic Phrygia in a double expression similar to xviii. 23.

² To make it quite clear that he means by Achaia the wider Roman province, the author employs in (17) xx. 2 the term Hellas, as the one that was used by the Greeks in the same wider sense.

³ Rarely Strabo uses ἡ Ἀσία ἰδίως λεγόμενη of the Roman province (cp. Ptolemy v. 2, 1, ἡ ἰδία Ἀσία); but regularly he employs it in the wider sense. Dr. Blass's idea that Asia meant *Mysiam, Ioniam, Lydiam, Cariam* (note on xvi. 6-8) seems to be quite erroneous. He quotes in support of it Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 28 (102), but incorrectly apprehends that passage, as is obvious both from a careful reading of the words and from a wider study of Pliny. The precise sense of Asia (which he desires) was created by the breaking up of the large province of Asia about A.D. 295, and could not occur in *Acts*. I have erred on p. 166 of *Ch. in Rom. Emp.*, in saying that the narrow sense of Asia is intended in *Acts* xix. 26, 27: the province Asia is obviously meant, and I now can hardly understand how I made such an error (except that, in thinking over such theories as Spitta's, one's head grows dizzy).

Roman Galatia, which included all the Pauline Churches of Galatia, one division having been already defined more narrowly in no. (3), and the other in no. (8), while both together were summed up in xiv. 21.

In two cases the district is not defined when Paul enters it, viz. in xiii., when he entered the province Galatia, and in xvii., when he entered Achaia. But in these two cases Paul entered them without the intention of evangelizing; he went to Athens to wait for the moment when it would be judicious to continue his work in Macedonia (to which he believed himself called, until a new order was given him in Corinth); and he went into Galatia at first "on account of an illness." In neither case was a definition of the range of work possible, for missionary work was not the determining cause of the journey.

No. (14) is remarkable: there the Western text contains a definition, and the Eastern text contains none (unless *ὑμᾶς* in xviii. 21 be taken in the sense of "you Asians," which it surely has in xx. 25¹): a definition is here certainly required; and its absence is a serious want in the accepted (Eastern) text, and a decided gain in the Bezan text. I have often been inclined to think that the remarkable expression *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη* was defined by the author with the addition *τῆς Ἀσίας*, and that these two words have perished in the transmission of the text before the beginning of the fourth century. The evidence here is distinctly more favourable to Blass's theory than in any other passage of *Acts*; but I have always held that there is a fair number of cases in which the Bezan text preserves the original text (more or less accurately) against the Eastern text.

The tendency of this minute evidence, then, is (1) to show that *Acts* is minutely accurate in local nomenclature

¹ See EXPOSITOR, 1895, p. 389.

of the first century, (2) to establish a close connexion between *Acts* and the thought and expression of Paul, (3) to point out much delicacy of expression in *Acts*, (4) to suggest that definite form was given to the idea of the Universal Church, when Paul addressed his first converts in central Asia Minor as Galatians, *i.e.* as members of the Roman province and of the unified Roman empire.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

THERE are times when one wishes he had never read the New Testament Scriptures—that he might some day open St. Luke's Gospel and the most beautiful book in the world might come upon his soul like sunrise. It is a doubtful fortune to be born in Athens and every day to see the Parthenon against the violet sky: better to make a single pilgrimage and carry for ever the vision of beauty in your heart. Devout Christians must be haunted by the fear that Jesus' sublime words may have lost their heavenliness through our familiarity, or that they may have been overlaid by our conventional interpretations. This misgiving is confirmed by the fact that from time to time a fresh discovery is made in Jesus' teaching. As a stranger, unfettered by tradition, will detect in a private gallery some masterpiece generations have overlooked, so an unbiassed mind will rescue from neglecting ages some idea of the Master. Two finds have been made within recent years: the Divine Fatherhood and the Kingdom of God.

If any one will take the three Gospels and read them with an open ear, he will be amazed by the continual recurrence of this phrase, the "Kingdom of God" or "Heaven." Jesus is ever preaching the Kingdom of God and explaining it in parables and images of exquisite simplicity. He exhorts men to make any sacrifice that they may enter the Kingdom of God (St. Matt. xiii. 44-46). He warns certain that they must not look back lest they should not be fit for the Kingdom of God (St. Luke ix. 62). He declares that it is not possible for others to enter the Kingdom of God (St. Matt. xix. 24). He encourages some one because he is not far from the Kingdom of God (St. Mark xii. 34). He gives to His chief Apostle the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (St. Matt. xvi. 19). He rates the Pharisees because

they shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men. (St. Matt. xxiii. 13). He comforts the poor because theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven (St. Matt. v. 3); and He invites the nations to sit down with Abraham in the Kingdom of Heaven (St. Matt. viii. 11). The Kingdom was in His thought the chiefest good of the soul and the hope of the world.

“ One far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.”

Every prophet of the first order has his own message and it crystallizes into a favourite idea. With Moses the ruling idea was law; with Confucius, it was morality; with Buddha, it was Renunciation; with Mohammed, it was God; with Socrates, it was the Soul. With the Master, it was the Kingdom of God. The idea owed its origin to the Theocracy, its inspiration to Isaiah, its form to Daniel, its popularity to John Baptist. When the forerunner's voice was stifled in the dungeon of Herod, Jesus caught up his word and preached the Utopia of John with a wider vision and sweeter note. The hereditary dream of the Jew passed through the soul of Jesus and was transformed. The local widened into the universal; the material was raised to the spiritual. A Jewish state with Jerusalem for its capital, and a greater David for its king, changed at the touch of Jesus into a moral kingdom whose throne should be in the heart and its borders coterminous with the race. The largeness of Jesus' mind is its glory and its misfortune. The magnificent conception was refused by his countrymen because their God was a national Deity; it has been too often reduced by His disciples because they have no horizon. They have been apt to think that Christianity is an extremely clever scheme by which a limited number of souls will secure Heaven—a rocket apparatus for a shipwrecked crew. Perhaps therefore outside people should be excused

for speaking of Christianity as a system of the higher selfishness, because they have some grounds for their misunderstanding: Every one ought to read Jesus' own words and he would find that Jesus did not live and die to afford select Pharisees an immunity from the burden of their fellow men, but to found a Kingdom that would be the salvation of the world.

It has been a calamity that for long Christians paid hardly any attention to the idea of the Kingdom of Jesus on which He was always insisting, and gave their whole mind to the entirely different idea of the Church, which Jesus only mentioned once with intention in a passage of immense difficulty. The Kingdom-idea flourishes in every corner of the three Gospels, and languishes in the Acts and Epistles, while the Church-idea is practically non-existent in Jesus' sermons, but saturates the letters of St. Paul. This means that the idea which unites has been forgotten, the idea which separates has been magnified. With all respect to the ablest Apostle of Jesus, one may be allowed to express his regret that St. Paul had not said less about the Church and more about the Kingdom. But one knows by an instinct why the Church has a stronger fascination for the religious mind than the Kingdom. The Church is a visible and exclusive institution which men can manage and use. The Kingdom is a spiritual and inclusive society whose members are selected by natural fitness and which is beyond human control. One must affirm this or that to be a member of the Church; one must be something to be a part of the Kingdom of God. Every person who is like Christ in character, or is of His mind, is included in the Kingdom. No natural reading of Church can include Plato: no natural reading of Kingdom can exclude him. The effect of the two institutions upon the world is a contrast. The characteristic product of the Church is ecclesiastics; the characteristic product of the Kingdom is philanthropists.

Jesus' Kingdom commends itself to the imagination because it is to come, when God's will is done on earth as it is done in heaven—it is the Kingdom of the Beatitudes. It commends itself to the reason because it has come wherever any one is attempting God's will—it is the Kingdom of the Parables. An ideal state, it ever allures and inspires its subjects; a real state, it sustains and commands them. Had Jesus conceived His Kingdom as in the future only, He had made His disciples dreamers; had He centred it in the present only, He had made them theorists. As it is, one labours on its building with its splendid model before his eyes; one possesses it in his heart, and yet is ever entering into its fulness. When Jesus sat down with the twelve in the upper room, the Kingdom of God had come; when the Son of Man shall be seen "coming in a cloud with power and great glory" it shall be "nigh at hand" (St. Luke xxi. 27, 31). As Jesus came once and ever cometh, His Kingdom is a present fact and an endless hope.

Jesus commands attention and respect at once when He insisted on a present Kingdom. It was not going to be, it was now and here. That day a man could see, could enter, could possess, could serve the Kingdom of God. Jesus did not despise this world in which we live nor despair of human society to which we belong. He did not discount earth in favour of heaven nor make the life which now is a mere passage to rest. He deliberately founded His Kingdom in this world, and anticipated it would run its course amid present circumstances. If you had pointed to rival forces and opposing interests, Jesus accepted the risk. If sin and selfishness had their very seat here, then the more need for the counteraction of the Kingdom. In fact, if there is to be a kingdom of God anywhere, it must be in this world; and if it be impossible here where Jesus died, it will be impossible in Mars or anywhere. When Jesus

said the Kingdom of Heaven, be sure He did not mean an unseen refuge whither a handful might one day escape like persecuted and disheartened Puritans fleeing from a hopeless England, but He intended what might be and then was in Galilee, what should be and now is in England. "To those who speak to you of heaven and seek to separate it from earth," wrote Mazzini, "you will say that heaven and earth are one even as the way and the goal are one." And he used also to say, and his words are coming true before our eyes, "The first real faith that shall arise upon the ruins of the old worn-out creeds will transform the whole of our actual social organization, because the whole history of humanity is but the repetition in form and degree of the Christian prayer, "Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Jesus' next point is that the Kingdom consists of regenerate individuals, and therefore He was always trying to create character. This is the salient difference between Jesus and the Jewish reformers and all reformers. The reformer, who has his own function and is to be heartily commended, approaches humanity from the outside and proceeds by machinery; Jesus approaches humanity from the inside and proceeds by influence. No one can ask a question without at the same time revealing his mind; and so when the Pharisees demanded of Jesus when the Kingdom of God should come (St. Luke xvii. 20), one understands what was their method of social reformation. The new state of things which they called the Kingdom of God—and no better name for Utopia has ever been found—was to come with observation. It was to be a sudden demonstration, and behold the golden age has begun. What they exactly meant was the arrival of a viceroy from God endowed with supernatural power and authority. Till He came, patriotism could do nothing; when He came, patriotism would simply obey, and in a day the hopes of the saints

would be realized and the promises of the prophets fulfilled. At one blow the Roman grip would be loosened from the throat of the Jewish nation; the grinding bondage of taxation swept away; the insolent licence of Herod's court ended; the pride of the priestly aristocracy reduced, and the gross abuses of the temple worship redressed. When the Messiah came, they would see the ideal of patriotism in all ages: "A Free State and a Free Church." It was a splendid dream, the idea of a ready-made commonwealth, that has touched in turn and glorified Savonarola and Sir Thomas More, Scottish Covenanters and English Puritans, and inspired the noblest minds in Greece. It is that the society can be regenerated from without and in the mass! It is regeneration by machinery—very magnificent machinery no doubt, but still machinery.

Jesus believed that if the Kingdom of God is to come at all, it must be by another method, and it was the perpetual exposition of His method that brought Him into collision with the Pharisees. He knew that the Messiah for the Jews must not be a supernatural Roman emperor or a *Deus ex machinâ*, doing for men what they would not do for themselves. This Messiah was a moral impossibility and this paternal Government would be useless. The true Messiah was a Saviour who would hold up a personal ideal and stimulate men to fulfil it. What was any nation but three measures of meal to be leavened; you must leaven it particle by particle till it be all changed. Instead of looking hither and thither for the kingdom of God it would be better to look for it in men's own hearts and lives. The Pharisees prated about being free, meaning they had certain political privileges; but Jesus told them that the highest liberty was freedom from sin. Did a Pharisee—and the Pharisee with all his faults was the patriot of his day—desire to better his nation; then let him begin by bettering himself. When the Pharisees learned humility and sym-

pathy, the golden age would not be far distant from Jewry. Jesus' perpetual suggestion to the patriotic class of His day was that they should turn from the politics of the state to the ethics of their own lives.

Jesus afforded a standing illustration of His own advice by His marked abstention from politics. His attitude is not only unexpected, it is amazing and perplexing. He never said one word against the Roman domination; He was on cordial terms with Roman officers; He cast His shield over the hated publican; He tolerated even Herod and Pilate. This was not an accident; it was His line. When clever tacticians laid a trap for Him and pressed Him for a confession of His political creed, He escaped by telling them He had none. Some things were civic, some religious. Let each sphere be kept apart. Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's: as for Him, His concern was with divine things. Jesus was so guarded that He refused to arbitrate in a dispute about property—a duty now greedily undertaken by servants. When He stood before Pilate, on the day of the cross, He told that bewildered officer that His kingdom was not of this world, and did not give him the slightest help in arranging a compromise.

On the other hand, none can read Jesus' words without being perfectly certain that they must sooner or later change the trend of politics and the colour of the state. His contemptuous depreciation of the world, His solemn appreciation of the soul, His sense of the danger of riches, His doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, His sympathy with the poor, His enthusiasm of humanity, were not likely to return unto Him void. No man can read Jesus' Sermon on the Mount or His parables — largely taken from the sphere of labour—or His arguments with the Pharisees, without being leavened with new and unworldly ideas. When these ideas have taken hold of the mind, they will be carried

as principles of action into the state. Moral truths ripen slowly; but given time, and Christianity was bound to become the most potent force in the state, although Jesus had never said one word about politics, and His apostles had adhered closely to His example. Men who have been fed with Christ's bread, and in whose heart His spirit is striving, will not long tolerate slavery, tyranny, vice, or ignorance. If they do not apply the principle to the fact to-day, they will to-morrow. Their conscience is helpless in the grip of Christ's word. They will be constrained to labour in the cause of Christ, and when their work is done men will praise them. It is right that they should receive their crown, but the glory does not belong to Hampden and Howard and Wilberforce and Shaftesbury and Lincoln and Gordon; it belongs to Jesus, who stood behind these great souls and inspired them. He never assailed Pilate with bitter invective, or any other person, except religious hypocrites; He never hinted at an insurrection. But it is Jesus, more than any other man or force, that has made Pilates impossible and taught the human race to live and die for freedom.

Politics are after all only a necessary machinery: what comes first is ideas. Just as there is the physical which we see and handle, and the metaphysical which eye has not seen nor ear heard, so there is the political which takes shape in government and legislatures and laws, and there is the meta-political—to use a happy phrase in *Lux Mundi*—which is before all and above all, or politics are worthless. And just as no wise physicist rails at the metaphysical because it cannot be weighed in scales, but freely acknowledges that it is the spirit of the material, so every one knows that all worthy politics are the offspring of noble ideas. When Jesus denied Himself to politics, He did not abdicate His kingdom; He set up His throne above all the world-kings and entrenched it among the principles

that judge and govern life. When He declined to agitate, He did not abandon the people. He could not, for, unlike many of their pseudo-friends, Jesus loved the people unto death. But He had a wide horizon. He was not content to change their circumstances, He dared to attempt something higher to change their souls.

Had Jesus depended on a scheme rather than an influence, He had failed. Imagine if He had anticipated the fruits of Christianity, and asked the world to accept the emancipation of the slave and the equality of woman, and civil rights and religious liberty, Christianity would have been crushed at its birth. It would have spelled anarchy, and in that day would have been anarchy. With the slow, sure education of centuries, these changes have come to be synonymous with righteousness. Christianity may be to-day pregnant with changes for which we are not yet prepared. They will come to birth by-and-by and find people prepared for them. What to our fathers would have seemed a revelation will seem to our children a regeneration. A century ago a slave-owner would have defended himself from God's Word, to-day he would be cast headlong out of the Church. Yesterday a master sweated his servants without sense of wrong-doing, to-day he is ashamed. To-day a millionaire is respected; there are signs that in after years a man leaving a huge fortune will be thought a semi-criminal. So does the Spirit of Jesus spread and ferment. Christ did not ask for power to make laws, He asked for a few men to train—for soil in which to sow His truth. He was content to wait till a generation arose, and said, "Before God this must be done," and then it would be done as Jesus intended. Possess the imagination with an ideal, and one need not vex himself about action.

Jesus laid Himself alongside sinful people, and out of them He slowly built up the new kingdom. If a man

was a formalist, he must be born again ; if the slave of riches, he must sell all he had ; if in the toils of a darling sin, he must pluck out his right eye to enter the kingdom of God. New men to make a new state. The kingdom was humility, purity, generosity, unselfishness. It was the reign of character ; it was the struggle for perfection. Chunder Sen, the Indian prophet, described Jesus' Kingdom perfectly : " A spiritual congregation of souls born anew to God." Say not, " Lo here, lo here," as if one could see a system or a government. " The kingdom of God is within you."

Investigate a little farther, and you notice Jesus fused His disciples into one body, and by this act alone separated Himself from the method of philosophy. Philosophy is content with an audience ; Jesus demands a society. Philosophy teaches men to think ; Jesus moves them to do. Philosophy can do no more because it has no centre of unity : the kingdom of God is richer, for there is Jesus. Socrates obliterated himself ; Jesus asserted Himself, and united His followers to each other by binding them to Himself. Loyalty to Jesus was to be the spinal cord to the new body, and the sacraments were to be the signs of the new spirit. Each was perfect in its simplicity—a beautiful poem. One was Baptism, where the candidate for God's kingdom disappeared into water and appeared again with another name. This meant that he had died to self and had risen a new creature, the child of the Divine Will. The other was the Lord's Supper, where Jesus' disciple eats bread and drinks wine in remembrance of His death. This meant that he had entered into the spirit of his Master and given himself to the service of the world. Those are the only rites of Jesus, those His bonds, and with this lowly equipment—two pledges of sacrifice—began the kingdom of God. Within all nations, and under the shadow of all governments, dividing none, resisting none,

winning all and uniting all, was to rise the new state of peace and goodwill toward men.

How was the kingdom to impress itself upon the world and change the colour of human life? As Jesus did Himself, and after no other fashion. Of all conquerors He has had the highest ambition, and above them all He has seen His desire. He has dared to demand men's hearts as well as their lives and has won them—how? By coercion? by stratagem? by cleverness? by splendour? By none of those means that have been used by rulers. By a scheme of his own invention—by the Cross. The Cross meant the last devotion to humanity; it was the pledge of the most uncomplaining and effectual ministry. When you inquire the resources of the Kingdom of Heaven, behold the Cross. They are faith and love. Its soldiers are the humble, the meek, the gentle, the peaceful. "Forgive your enemies," said Jesus; "help the miserable, restore the fallen, set the captive free. Love as I have loved, and you will succeed." Amazing simplicity! amazing originality! Hitherto kingdoms had stood on the principle of selfishness—grasp and keep. This kingdom was to rest on sacrifice—suffer and serve. Amazing hope, that anything so weak, so helpless, could regenerate the masterful world! But Jesus has not been put to shame: His plan has not failed. There are many empires on the face of the earth to-day, but none so dominant as the kingdom of God. Jesus by the one felicitous stroke of the Cross has replaced the rule of rights by the idea of sacrifice; and when Jesus' mind has obtained everywhere, and men cease to ask, "What am I to get," and begin to say, "What can I give," then we shall see a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

It was natural that the imagination of Jesus should inspire heroic souls in every age; it was perhaps inevitable that few could enter into His mind. Nothing has given

such a moral impetus to human society ; nothing has conferred such nobility of character as the kingdom of God ; nothing has been so sadly misunderstood. The sublime self-restraint of Jesus, His inexhaustible patience, His immovable charity, His unerring insight, have not descended to His disciples. They longed to anticipate the victory of righteousness, and burned to cleanse the world by force. They have gained for themselves an imperishable name, but they have failed. When the Roman Empire was laid waste, and the world seemed to be falling to pieces, St. Augustine described the new empire that should rise on the ashes of the old. The *City of God* stands first among his writings, and created the Holy Roman Empire, but the Papacy has not redeemed humanity. When the life of Florence was eaten out by the Medicis, Savonarola purified the city for a space with a thunderstorm. The Florentines cast out their Herods at the bidding of their Baptist, they burned their vanities in the market-place, they elected Jesus King of Florence by acclamation. In a little they brought Herod back, and burned the Baptist in the same market-place. The Puritans were at first quiet, serious, peaceable men who were outraged by the reign of unrighteousness, and drew the sword to deliver England. They made the host of God triumphant for a little. Then came the reaction, and iniquity covered the land as with a flood. It was high failure, but it was failure. It does not become us to criticise those forlorn hopes ; we ought to learn from their reverses. The kingdom of God can only rule over willing hearts ; it has no helots within its borders. It advances by individual conversion, it stands in individual consecration. Laws can do but little for this cause ; the sword less than nothing. The kingdom will come in a land when it has come in the hearts of the people—neither sooner nor later.

The kingdom of God cometh to a man when he sets up

Jesus' Cross in his heart, and begins to live what Mr. Laurence Oliphant used to call "the life." It passes on its way when that man rises from table and girds himself and serves the person next him. Yesterday the kingdom was one man, now it is a group. From the one who washes to the one whose feet are washed the kingdom grows and multiplies. It stands around us on every side,—not in Pharisees nor in fanatics, not in noise nor tumult, but in modest and Christ-like men. One can see it in their face, and catch it in the tone of their voice. And if one has eyes to see and ears to hear, then let him be of good cheer, for the kingdom of God is come. It is the world-wide state, whose law is the Divine will, whose members obey the spirit of Jesus, whose strength is goodness, whose heritage is God.

JOHN WATSON.

*THE "CURSING OF THE 'GROUND'" AND THE
"REVEALING OF THE SONS OF GOD" IN
RELATION TO NATURAL FACTS.*

II. THE FALL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

IN the previous article we have considered the natural conditions implied in the Edenic state of man, and the possibility that under favourable circumstances he might have increased and multiplied and replenished the earth as a harmless and innocent being. We have also noticed the remarkable coincidence between the probable condition and environment of primitive man as inferred from geological facts and the statements of the early chapters of Genesis. That something interfered to prevent his development into a high and holy being, a fit ruler and head of creation, and reduced him to that savage and cruel condition in which we find him as evidenced by his remains in the caves and gravels, we too surely know; but geology is silent as to the disturbing cause, and here therefore we may turn to the written record and enquire what light it throws on this difficult subject.

The Book of Genesis presents man to us as having intercourse with his Maker—such intercourse as our little ones still have when they startle us with their realistic utterances as to things to us unseen, or only dimly visible to faith, except when they shine before us in dreams and visions of the night, or in conditions of body when we have nearly shuffled off this mortal coil. We need not doubt this, however difficult it may be for us to think of men communing with God in the rustling of the evening breeze. It is what must have been in the first waking to consciousness of a rational and spiritual being. He is also in a state of probation. There is one tree of the garden of which he must not eat—one poisonous and even deadly fruit. He is like a child turned loose in a garden with permission to eat

every fruit but one, because that is poisonous. Whatever profound questions as to the origin of evil or human responsibility may gather around this prohibition, it represents a condition of existence everywhere and always; for where are there not scattered around our paths, in all climates and states, fruits good for food, and others that are unwholesome and dangerous. It is the one conceivable limitation of human freedom in the Edenic state, and at the same time one that without any warning or command must have existed as a natural fact, so soon as man emerged from Eden.

Thus the religion of Adam and Eve consisted of a communion with God and an understood prohibition which was also a kind warning. This was the primitive embryo of religion in unfallen man. It does not follow, as some now appear to hold, that it will serve equally for man in his present state. Had man adhered to this religion, however, it admitted of a development up to the level of that of unfallen angels.

The disturbing element which deprives man of this covenant is the serpent, and no explanation is given as to the serpent being the agent of a malignant spirit. This could not be known in the first instance to the primitive pair. He is merely indicated as being the most subtle of the animals—more insidious (naked) than any other. Naturally the gliding, noiseless progression and the ability to execute all kinds of movements without limbs, have impressed this idea on man everywhere, and have given the serpent a large place in myths and superstitions, which may however be secondarily derived from his rôle as the tempter, for which these properties so well fit the animal. I may remark here that other peculiarities of the serpent are referred to in the curse pronounced on him after the fall. He is to go on his belly and eat dust. The serpent when about to strike coils his body and erects his head.

When he fails or becomes afraid, he lowers himself abjectly and sneaks away with his head close to the ground. These natural attitudes are those referred to in the curse, and they for the first time suggest to us that the serpent here is the agent of an evil power of whom he becomes the symbol, and who is bold and pretentious in his temptation of Eve, and destined subsequently to occupy an abject and hateful position in relation to man, and especially to the promised seed of the woman who is to crush his head.

The temptation presented to Eve is addressed to her ambitious longing for higher knowledge and power—a longing intended to be gratified in the gradual development of man from stage to stage of divine culture, but not to be prematurely satiated by snatching the forbidden fruit. Whether or not the fruit was one having a stimulating or intoxicating property, as some have supposed, it had the immediate effect of opening their eyes, and the perception to which they attain is one of sexual shame or modesty, the perception of nakedness and the desire for clothing. This might lead to many curious ethnological inquiries. I shall mention here merely the fact that while the skeletons of prehistoric men in bone-caves, give evidence of the wearing both of clothes and ornaments, the tracings of the human figure found on bones, etc., in such caverns, are, so far as known, nude. In other words, the co-existence of clothing on the actual human figure, along with nudity on sculptured representations belongs to the earliest times, and hints to us the fact that man originally had no cause to be ashamed of his want of clothing.

Up to this point the simplicity and naturalness and primitive character of the whole story in Genesis are most evident. Let us now turn to the alleged consequences of the fall in relation to natural facts.

If, as already explained, we are to understand by Eden the "Centre of Creation" prepared for man, in which all

external conditions were favourable to his happy existence, the expulsion from that special district, by whatever means effected, must have been a great and real calamity. It was exile from the environment and natural productions necessary to a happy life. It was throwing man into a struggle for existence under unfavourable conditions, and exposing him to dangers and sufferings before unknown.

To nature in general it was also a grievous loss. Had man continued in his Edenic state, the conditions and the animal species of his new vital centre might have extended themselves widely over the continents, in a manner similar to that which seems to have occurred in the introduction of other types in previous periods. Under his new circumstances, if he is to maintain his dominion and even his existence, he must declare war against the other parts of organic nature, must invent weapons of destruction, and by virtue of his higher mental powers must become the tyrant of the world, more dreaded than any wild beast, and must destroy vegetable productions hostile or obstructive to him and his industries. Nature in fact must henceforth suffer from the destructive dominance of man.

The sentence of death passed upon man implies that he was originally free from the general doom of living beings. Whether this was to have been by a repeated rejuvenescence or renewal of youth, by a mere interchange of new tissues for those become effete, or by a transition from the natural or psychic body to the spiritual body promised in the New Testament at the resurrection, it is impossible to decide; but there are different ways in which such immunity could be secured, and, as previously stated, it would be an appropriate endowment of man's higher nature and instinctive desire for immortality. Now he falls under the general law, and though his life may at first be very protracted, he must surely die. In experiencing this fate, in so far as his physical frame was concerned, he but returns

to dust out of which he was taken, but in so far as his spiritual nature is concerned, he retains that belief in a future existence, that universal instinct of immortality which is perhaps the best natural evidence of his original unending life. It is certainly as easy and natural to believe in man's primitive immortality as to believe in the doctrine of a resurrection of the dead body, so constantly maintained by Jesus Christ and by Paul.

The penalty of death is not to be immediately exacted, except in its shadow cast over the whole life of man; and hope of a final though distant restoration is held out to him; but in the meantime the ground on which he treads and out of which he is to obtain food, is cursed for his sake. Judging from subsequent references, this would imply want of such permanent fertility as that secured to Eden by its irrigating streams, entailing much tillage and labour;¹ and as in the case of the woe denounced on Cain, this infertility in some cases extending to absolute barrenness.² There would seem also to have been a progressive deterioration, perhaps in climate as well as soil, for Lamech, the father of Noah, at the close of the antediluvian period is represented as speaking of it as an increasing evil in his time.³ On the other hand the blessing to Noah after the flood seems to refer to a partial removal of the curse, and from the terms of the promise to Noah, it would also appear that after the flood there was some restoration of fertility and amelioration of climate.⁴ We have already seen that if we identify the antediluvian age with that of the men of the Palanthropic or "Palæolithic" caves and gravels, it is proved by geological facts that they suffered not merely from a retarded development of the organic world, but a gradual deterioration of climate; so that before the great diluvial catastrophe which closed that period set in, there was much difficulty in finding means of subsistence, and many tribes of men

¹ Gen. iii. 17.² Gen. iv. 12.³ Gen. v. 29.⁴ Gen. viii. 22.

had to resort to the rudest kind of hunting life, leading probably to much barbarism and violence.

We are further told in Genesis that when men resorted to tillage and subsisted on the "herb of the field," their work would be obstructed by "thorns and thistles." This may appear to some a trifling penalty, but it would not seem such to one familiar with the number and troublesome nature of thorny and prickly plants in some parts of the world, or with the devastation which the thistle and its allies have worked on some of the finest plains on the earth. Like man, the great family of the Compositæ, so prolific of troublesome weeds, and including the thistles and their allies, was a new thing on the earth, and may not have found its way at all into the Edenic Garden.¹ It would seem however almost as if produced in order to annoy man, so soon as he becomes a cultivator or even a shepherd. In our own time we have seen the thistles and their allies pursuing men in their new American and Australian homes, following them to the remotest districts, and molesting them in all their attempts at pasturage and culture. It is singular how many things the author of Genesis knew which until the other day were not dreamt of in our philosophy.

The special penalty denounced on woman is one of the saddest parts of the fall. Sorrow in that which was a part of the original blessing, and is the happiness of other living beings, in that childbearing which in Eden would have been a chief joy and the means of replenishing the earth with happy beings, was now in the fallen state to be hers, along with that inevitable submission to marital despotism which in all primitive and rude states of society falls to the lot of the weaker partner burdened with the cares and toils of maternity.

¹ We know of no Compositæ until the Tertiary age, except uncertain fragments. The family seems to be a new one, scarcely older than man himself, but gifted with remarkable powers of extension.

The more we ponder on the few but graphic touches of the primitive painter of Eden and the Fall, the more must we recognise their truth to nature and the certainty that they must truly represent the experience of the earliest human beings, and the reason of that degraded condition in which we find the oldest tribes of men yet known to us. Before going farther, however, there are a few features of the old story in Genesis which may merit a short consideration, in addition to that which we have given to the main features of the narrative. Was the tree of life an actual tree, or kind of tree, seen by primitive man? This, I think, we can scarcely doubt, though the study of ancient mythology shows us that in different times and countries it may have been represented by different species, as the palm, the banyan, the persea, the oak or even the mistletoe.¹ Had it any natural power to cure disease or injury, or to prolong life? Were its leaves literally "for the healing of the nations"?² This we cannot know, unless we could find means to identify the species. It may have been merely a symbol or pledge of the "immortality" promised to man, though the words of the record would seem rather to imply a physical property. What were the cherubim and flaming sword which prevented access to it? The former are represented to us not only in the Bible but in the pictured and sculptured symbolism of all the old idolatries, as animals or complex monsters, compounded of animal forms, sometimes with the human head superadded. Naturally interpreted, and in connection with later mythological and Biblical ideas, this might mean primarily the irruption of formidable beasts into Eden to replace man; and its later symbolic use may refer to the injury inflicted on creation by the fall, and that restoration of freedom and progress predicted by Paul in a passage to be referred to in

¹ In Chaldea, India, Egypt, Greece and Western Europe respectively.

² Rev. xxii. 2.

the sequel. In this case the heavenly "animals" or living creatures of Revelation chapters iv. and v. are representatives of the redemption of the creation as distinguished from man. Hence when "every created thing" ascribes honour and glory and blessing to God and to the Redeemer the four cherubim or living creatures say "Amen."

As symbols therefore throughout the Bible and in the ancient idolatries, the cherubim represent the copartnership of animated nature with man in his fall and final restoration—a great and glorious doctrine deserving of more attention than it receives, more especially in relation to our duties toward the lower animals. But this is too large a subject and too frequently referred to in the Bible to be discussed here, except to say that the Bible, while it lends no countenance to the doctrine of human descent from animals or to idolatrous veneration for them, fully recognises our relations to them, God's care of and for them, and our duty of mercy to them. The flaming sword, if we are to take Isaiah's description of the Sword of Jehovah¹ or Ezekiel's of the fire accompanying his cherubim² as referring to it, must have been some bituminous or volcanic fire or eruption striking terror into the human spectators. The symbolism in both cases would be the sympathy of nature with man in his fall, like the earthquake and eclipse at the death of Christ, or the rejoicing of nature in the revelation of the Sons of God in the Psalms and the Apocalypse. The immediate object is stated to have been the exclusion of man for the time from his lost paradise.

For our present purpose all these features of the narrative in Genesis serve to emphasize the conclusion that the present relations of man to other parts of nature are not normal or in accordance with the usual arrangements of the Creator in the introduction of new types, or with the position of man as the culmination of the animal kingdom and

¹ Chap. xxxiv. 8.

² Chap. i. 18.

the introducer of a higher type of rational existence. Consequently, that any system of theology or philosophy which takes it for granted that the present condition of the world is merely "a natural result of its whole previous development," or that "no important change took place at the time of man's first transgression," must necessarily lead to false conclusions.

We may, it is true, admit that in a certain sense the present state of things is a result of the previous development from the beginning, and that the fall itself must have entered into the original plan of the Creator as an episode in that development. Yet the introduction of man was in itself a new feature, and one implying the risk that any false step taken by a free rational agent might produce an effectual and perhaps ever-increasing derangement of the whole course of organic nature, not to be inferred at all from its previous tendencies. Paul grasps this fully when he says, "the creation was made subject to vanity," that is to failure or unprofitableness. Ellicott and Macdonald have also seized the significance of this possibility, but it has been missed by the greater part of modern commentators and philosophers. It is, in short, an inevitable conclusion of science that when a rational and moral being has been introduced into the world with power to assume mastery over it, and with capacity for multiplication and extension, any aberration on his part must subvert the ordinary operation of natural laws, and interrupt the progress of nature. Even evolutionists like Mivart and Wallace, have perceived this and have taken some account of it. It was also well known to naturalists in what have been called "pre-Darwinian" days, before the whirl of the evolutionary cyclone had carried so many naturalists off their feet. In 1860, in my work entitled *Archæia*, I discussed this subject and continued its consideration in *The Origin of the World*, published in 1877. The conclusion had then been fully

established by geology that the introduction of a rational and inventive being, unarmed, unclothed, and subsisting on the spontaneous productions of nature, must mark a new departure and require important changes in the progress of the world, and that the conversion of man into a savage creature, inventing weapons of destruction, would necessarily introduce the most serious disturbances. In studying the subject however at that time I was not aware of certain important facts discovered later, such as the following—(1) The deterioration of climate in the Northern Hemisphere which occurred in the early human period. (2) The probable identity of the so-called "Palæolithic" men of Europe with the Antediluvians, and of the catastrophe which swept them away with the historical deluge. (3) The magnitude of the geographical and vital changes connected with the diluvial catastrophe. Wanting these important data, the following sentences express the conclusions attainable at that time.

1. Every large region of earth is inhabited by a group of animals, differing in the proportions of identical species and in the presence of distinct species from the groups inhabiting other districts. There is also sufficient reason to conclude that all animals and plants have spread from certain local centres of creation, in which certain groups of species have been produced and allowed to extend themselves, until they met and became intermingled with species extending from other centres. Now, the district of Asia, in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris, to which the Bible assigns the origin of the human race, is the centre to which we can with the greatest probability, trace several of the species of animals and plants most useful to man, and lies near the confines of warmer and colder regions of distribution in the Old World, and also near the boundary of the Asiatic and European regions. At the period under consideration it may have been peopled with a group of animals especially suited to association with the pro-

genitors of mankind. 2. To remove all zoological difficulties from the position of primeval man in his state of innocence, we have but to suppose, in accordance with all the probabilities of the case, that man was created along with a group of creatures adapted to contribute to his happiness and having no tendency to injure or annoy; and that it is the formation of these creatures—the group of his own centre of creation—that is especially noticed in Genesis ii. 19 et seq., where God is represented as forming them out of the ground and exhibiting them to Adam. 3. The difficulty attending the early extension of the human race is at once obviated by the geological doctrine of the extinction of species. We know that in past geological periods large and important groups of species have become extinct, and have been replaced by new groups extending from new centres; and we know that this process has removed, in early geological periods, many creatures that would have been highly injurious to human interests had they remained. Now the group of species created with man, being the latest introduced, we may infer, on geological grounds, that it would have extended itself within the spheres of older zoological and botanical districts, and would have replaced their species, which, in the ordinary operation of natural laws, may have been verging towards extinction. Thus, not only man, but the Eden in which he dwelt with all its animals and plants, would have gradually encroached on the surrounding wilderness, until man's happy and peaceful reign had replaced that of the ferocious beasts that preceded him in dominion, and had extended at least over all the temperate region of the earth. 4. The cursing of the ground for man's sake, on his fall from innocence, would thus consist in the permission given to the predaceous animals and the thorns and the thistles of other centres of creation to invade his Eden; or, in his own

expulsion, to contend with the animals and plants which were intended to have given way and become extinct before him. Thus the fall of man would produce an arrest in the progress of the earth in that last great revolution which would have converted it into an Eden; and the anomalies of its present state consist in a mixture of the conditions of the Tertiary with those of the human period. 5. Though there is good ground for believing that man was to have been exempted from the general law of mortality, we cannot infer that any such exemption would have been enjoyed by his companion animals; we only know that he himself would have been free from all annoyance and injury and decay from external causes. We may also conclude that, while Eden was sufficient for his habitation, the remainder of the earth would continue, just as in the earlier Tertiary periods, under the dominion of the predaceous mammals, reptiles and birds. 6. The above views enable us on the one hand to avoid the difficulties that attend the admission of predaceous animals into Eden, and on the other the still more formidable difficulties that attend the attempt to exclude them altogether from the Adamic world. They also illustrate the geological fact, that many animals, contemporaneous with man, extend far back into the Tertiary period. These are creatures not belonging to the Edenic centre of creation, but introduced in an earlier part of the sixth creative day, and now permitted to exist along with man in his fallen state. I have stated these supposed conditions of the Adamic creation briefly, and with as little illustration as possible, that they may connectedly strike the mind of the reader. Each of these statements is in harmony with the narrative in Genesis on the one hand, and with geology on the other; and, taken together, they afford an intelligible history of the introduction of man. If a geologist were to state, *a priori*, the conditions proper

to the creation of any important species, he could only say—the preparation or selection of some region of the earth for it, and its production along with a group of plants and animals suited to it. These are precisely the conditions implied in the Scriptural account of the creation of Adam. The difficulties of the subject have arisen from supposing, contrary to the narrative itself, that the conditions necessary for Eden must in the first instance have extended over the whole earth, and that the creatures with which man is in his present dispersion brought into contact must necessarily have been his companions there.

I have quoted the above as legitimate conclusions of science attained thirty-five years ago, and which have not been affected even by the current theories of evolution, except in so far as these occupy the entirely irrational ground of agnostic causelessness. When therefore we find the earliest men known to us, to have been barbarous hunters and manslayers, at war with nature and with one another, and out of harmonious relations with their environment, we may be sure from the deductions of geological and archæological science that there has been "a fall of man."

We should not however omit to notice that according both to geological science and to Bible history, there may have been some mitigation of the cursing of the ground after the Deluge. The great diluvial catastrophe which separates Palæanthropic from Neanthropic man,¹ which we can now identify with the historical deluge, greatly altered the physical geography of the Northern Hemisphere, and destroyed or expelled from its temperate regions many species of animals, while the climatal conditions of the previous period were somewhat ameliorated and the diminished size of the continents gave greater facilities for the

¹ See *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, chap. iv. ; and *Meeting-place of Geology and History*.

dispersion of men, and for maritime intercourse. So in the patriarchal record we find the promise to Noah that man will no more be destroyed by a diluvial catastrophe, the cursing of the ground shall in some degree be removed, and that seedtime and harvest will not fail. These improved conditions however fell far short of restoring the Edenic happiness, and left untouched all that part of the curse of nature which depends on the tyranny and misconduct of man himself. This, I apprehend, is implied in the singular reason that the alleviation is not given because the survivors of the Deluge have returned to Edenic innocence, but, on the contrary, because the taint of the fall still clings to them, because "the heart of man is evil from his youth," and therefore they cannot help being out of harmony with nature, but they are allowed to enter on the new age with improved conditions.¹

It results from this, however, that the most important part of the remaining curse is that which arises from the voluntary action of man himself. He continues to be the antagonist and destroyer of the lower animals, the deformer of the fair face of nature. He pursues to extinction the animals which he hunts for his profit or his pleasure. He takes away the food and shelter of other creatures and so causes them to perish. He disfigures with his so-called improvements great spaces of the surface of the earth. He interferes with the nice balance of animated nature established of old, and has introduced struggle, anarchy, violence and misrule. Farther, by his exhaustive cropping he has reduced vast areas of the earth's surface to barrenness. These destructive changes have already spread over much of the habitable land and are rapidly extending themselves; and when he carries his innovations to the extreme we find a "Black-country," a pandemonium of fire and machinery overhung with a canopy of smoke, under which

¹ See Genesis viii. 20, etc.

thousands toil, deprived of the most ordinary requirements of health and happiness, and whence all creatures save man and the beasts he has enslaved are excluded. Finally, we already hear the prediction that the culmination of applied science will be the discovery of means to provide artificially from their elements the food-substances necessary for human subsistence; and then the whole world might be converted into a great congeries of factories without a tree or a green field, or any of the higher forms of animal life, and in which toiling millions of men might grind out painfully the means of supporting a life deprived of the charm of everything that God has made for human enjoyment. This travesty of the New Jerusalem is that to which many eager minds are bending all their energies, and hoping some day to accomplish. It remains to enquire if God has not provided some better way to remedy the Fall of Man.

[NOTE.—Much is said at present of the "Babylonian element in Genesis," as if in some way the Bible history of primitive man had been derived from the Chaldean accounts of creation and the deluge; whereas it is evident that the Chaldean myths are related to the Bible in the same manner in which a historical novel is related to sober history. Maspero, in his recent work, *The Dawn of Civilization* (*Les Origines*, English translation, edited by Sayce), attempts to summarize the Chaldean documents; and it must be obvious to every intelligent reader of his pages, that whatever the original basis of these legends, they have been amplified in a wildly imaginative manner which would render quite impossible the construction from them of the sober prosaic narrative of Genesis. They are deserving of study as showing that the early Chaldeans had access to some of the sources of information possessed by the author of Genesis, and as illustrating the difference between popular legends or poetical myths and inspired history, but nothing more.]

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

CHRIST AND POPULARITY.

A STUDY OF ST. LUKE II. 52.

It has been often observed how silent the Gospel narrative is regarding the early years of our Lord's life. The silence is, strictly speaking, only broken by one incident, striking in itself, the more striking because it stands by itself. In contrast with this silence then is to be found, as every student knows, in the Apocryphal Gospels a mass of matter relating to the boyhood of Jesus. The most that can be said of these legends is that some of them are picturesque. He is presented in them as a youthful miracle-worker. The narrative is full of wonders and portents; it appears not only as utterly unworthy of His awful after life, but as wholly inappropriate in the delineation of the type of any good and gracious childhood. Who can doubt that the silence of the canonical Gospels is in correspondence with facts, and as such truly significant? Enough for devout students if the veil is only once lifted, so that they may see the Holy Child standing confessed in the tenderness of his filial loyalty and the sweetness of his willing subjection; better still for them if they may appropriate the eternal lessons so conveyed. That these lessons are neither easily nor generally learnt from the narrative may be gathered from the popular phrase which stands as descriptive of the incident. Christ "disputing with the doctors, Christ "disputing" in the Temple. Such a description is wholly beside the point of the narrative, and that it should have passed so long current argues a melancholy want of appreciation of this unique record. St. Luke speaks of the Holy Child as an apt and earnest scholar among teachers.¹ That He was so good a listener implied and justified his asking of questions. It was not that He and they exchanged places. Every competent teacher is delighted with that favourable

¹ St. Luke chap. ii. 46 : ἀκούοντα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα αὐτοὺς.

sign in his pupils which prompts them to questioning. It is a welcome recognition that his teaching is beginning to interest, to inspire, to tell. Without this interchange of question and answer instruction is reduced to the level of a lecture. Answering, however, remains largely the scholar's part, and the youthful Jesus was mainly an answerer, for the wonder which his conduct called forth was not at his questions, which were an accident of the incident, but at His replies and their wisdom.¹

The narrative as it stands thus presents us with an incident in the regular equable development of Christ's life upon earth. And it is shown and described in two aspects, according to certain remarkable expressions of St. Luke. That evangelist declares that Jesus increased (or advanced) in wisdom and stature (or age) and in favour (or grace) with God and men.

Students of the Gospel do not need to be reminded how commentators have busied themselves with this text. Is it too much to say that they have occupied themselves so with word-studies as to lose the interpretation of its thought? And even in this lesser essay few of them appear to have discovered that the key to the phraseology is already to their hands. For this verse (ii. 52) has only to be duly compared with i. 80, and with ii. 40 for its language to become perfectly luminous. The verses severally run thus, for our comparison :—

i. 80 : τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἤρξε, καὶ ἐκρατιοῦτο πνεύματι—
said of the Baptist.

ii. 40 : τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἤρξε, καὶ ἐκρατιοῦτο πληρούμενον σοφίᾳ καὶ χάρις θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτό—
said of Christ.

ii. 52 : Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε τῇ σοφίᾳ, καὶ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ χάριτι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις—
said of Christ.

¹ St. Luke chap. ii. 47 : ἐπὶ τῇ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν αὐτοῦ.

Passing by the suggestive consideration that the evangelist perceived so exact a parallel in the youthful development of Christ and His forerunner; passing by also the consideration that a like verdict had been pronounced upon the childhood of Samuel, a close comparison of these passages indicates the clue to the precise significance of the one last quoted. It will there be noted that *προέκοπτε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ* stands as equivalent to *ἠϋξανε*, and thus it is clearly indifferent whether we render *ἡλικία* "age" or "stature." Again, *προέκοπτε τῇ σοφίᾳ* must stand as a shortened phrase for the combined expressions *ἐκρατιοῦτο πνεύματι πληρούμενον σοφίᾳ* used both of the Baptist and of Christ. Lastly, the collocation of *χάρις* in the two latter verses point to the conclusion that it is capable of a double rendering; with reference to God it signifies "grace"; with reference to man it signifies "favour."

Thus taking the Evangelist as his own interpreter, the general meaning of the passage may be boldly inferred. There was noticeable in the Holy Child Jesus, as in a measure in the Baptist, an equal development both on the physical and spiritual side.

Let no one regard an emphasis upon the former as superfluous. It is an interesting and unexpected contribution to that group of after references which lays stress upon our Lord's perfect humanity. It helps to explain His "favour with men," with which perhaps it stands in parallel. No time of life has such a fascination about it for the student of mankind as youth. But given a childhood winning, gracious, and modest, and the attraction to all but dead natures is supreme. What tremendous possibilities lie within and before it! What fearful responsibilities await its culture and training! Yet the physical form, however fair, is but the casket which contains the rich spiritual endowments, and while the one may compel a passing admiration, the other, at once the secret and pledge of eternal capacities,

bids us pause and look beyond, while we look within to the source of all goodness—to God Himself.

The Holy Child Jesus thus not only waxed strong in spirit as being filled with the spirit of wisdom, not only did the grace of God continue to rest upon Him, but He grew in human favour. The statement is surprising. How does it tally with the ancient prediction—"He was despised and rejected of men"? How does it fit in with the record of all the bitter returns made to a life of sublime unselfishness? What was the nature of the favour of men shown to Christ at Capernaum or Nazareth, at Samaria or Jerusalem? What of the judgment hall and Calvary, where not only favour was absent but there was no man even to pity Him? How is the Evangelist's pronouncement reconcilable with the whole narrative to which he subsequently addresses himself?

An explanation must surely be forthcoming when it is so urgently needed by the devout student. So some would have it that St. Luke, when he speaks of Christ being in favour with "men," uses this general term in contrast with that dark, compact, sinister group who joined hands for once in dogging the Lord's footsteps—Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, united in hypocrisy, banded together by common hatred, misunderstanding His aims, catching at His words, misinterpreting His actions, finally contriving and compassing His death. This is indeed nearing an explanation, but it is not all. Can it be said that while Christ grew in favour with men He was only out of favour with these? Scarcely so. For clearly He is described¹ as in universal favour. He won all hearts. It was a triumph all along the line. He was, if one may use the expression in all reverence of His Person, generally popular. Moreover, throughout His life upon earth He largely retained His popularity with the masses. When the Pharisees were

¹ St. Luke iv. 15: *δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων.*

on the point of attacking Him, it is more than once recorded that they stayed their hands ; the moment was not so very opportune ; "they feared the people."

After all, the gifts and graces which shone out in the manifestation of Christ's life are precisely those which within common experience tend to favour with men—tend to make a man popular. Christ went about doing good. Himself bare men's sicknesses and healed men's infirmities. Everything, everybody, was open to the General Hospital of His Divine compassion. The nobleman's servant, the daughter of Jairus, the trembling woman with her life-long infirmity, His own apostle's wife's mother, His intimate friend Lazarus,—all who sought Him, let their claims be strong or weak, were dealt with in mercy by Him. Nor did Christ deal, as we are apt to do, merely with cases in which He was interested. Such as He was to individuals, so He was to the crowds which followed, pressed, and distressed Him. We have but two records of His feeding of the people who waited upon Him. Yet these occasions did not surely exhaust His pity for man's necessity. "I have compassion on the multitude, because they have been with Me, and they have nothing to eat." This is language which is bound to do more than elicit sympathy ; by the nature of the case it evokes enthusiasm. Humanity has hardly ever sunk quite so low as to hate a member of its race purely and simply for doing works of mercy and charity. If one thinks of the instances of men and of women in the pages of history who have spent themselves, their means, their time, their very hearts' affections, to live lives of devotion and self-sacrifice, they have not been hated quite on this account, or wholly from such causes. Now and again the strength and influence won by such unselfishness have filled baser spirits with jealousy ; it was partly so in the Divine instance of the Redeemer, who knew that for envy they had delivered Him ; but

something still remains to be accounted for before a favour which was universal can pass to the unnatural and illogical climax of distrust, odium, persecution, and the sentence of death. The "white-robed" army of the world's martyrs appears to offer no parallel here. Socrates, Hypatia, Jeanne d'Arc, Savonarola, Sir Thomas More, the English Reformers, were done to death, but their popularity was fitful, doubtful, temporary, and local. It was never universally conceded. Uplifted upon the crest of some wave of passing enthusiasm, they sank with the ebbing tide. Upon none of these could have been written the evangelist's record of the people's conception of Jesus. But as the death of Christ is not comparable with these martyrdoms, so neither is the tenor of His life upon earth. If He had appeared merely as a benefactor, or philanthropist, or the pioneer of some great movement, then a comparison might be instituted between Him and these heroes, who have ennobled their race. But the experiences of Christ, like His claims, stand unique, and refuse comparison for the awful reason that He is Divine. This claim is the secret of the tragedy of Calvary. It must not, of course, be imagined that the claim was not asserted from the moment of the birth of the Saviour. It was the burden of angelic messages, it was testified by His Father, it was observed by every open spiritual eye from the simple shepherds of Judæa to the shrewd seers of the East. But until the hour of supreme manifestation came the truth lay dormant in unthinking heart and unenthusiastic mind. The sword of division was not yet drawn. Men could not for the present look beyond the carpenter's Son, the embodiment of all that was most humble, and gracious, and winning in youth; their eyes were holden; they could not discern in Him the awful majesty of God. Had such a claim been recognised, then the truthful record of the evangelist could never have been penned.

"He advanced in favour with men." The narrative of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem does not conflict with this conclusion. The welcome then given and the homage then paid to Jesus were frankly and simply offered by Galilean peasants. They could do no less, who had seen or heard of His mighty works. The jealousy of the Pharisees was too bitter to allow them to pause and reflect that this outburst of enthusiasm was, after all, not based upon a serious, thoughtful belief that this was truly the Son of God. Had the enthusiasm of the multitude sprung out of anything so solid, it would not have been so evanescent, nor out of the same lips could have passed within a few days the shout of Hosanna and the cry of "Crucify!"

"He advanced in favour with men." Popularity is the most general object of human pursuit, it is the most universal passion. To enlist men's regard, to win affection, to evoke enthusiasm—these are the sweetest triumphs in human experience. The happiest persons seem to be those to whom these triumphs come most easily. Such an ambition is indeed the last infirmity of noble minds. As an instinct it is doubtless implanted in men, who were not meant by God's providence to live solitary lives, but to expand in the lives and interests of others. Hence it comes about as an indisputable fact that no man would willingly say or do a thing which would make him less regarded, less honoured, or less loved by his fellows.

Real dangers however to the spiritual life gather round this passionate quest, and beset the pursuit of popularity. Not to be conscious of such perils argues the lack of any fine religious instinct. In most instances the danger is plainly recognised and then ignored. The craving after the favour of men is so strong that every kind of subtle excuse is found for satisfying it. The most common apology is that popularity is necessary to the success of religious enterprise. As a matter of fact and experience it

is often fatal to it; the message becomes nothing, and the messenger everything. What shipwrecks have been made and are being made in the history of the Church of Christ upon this rock! Yet here the instance of the Son of man is vocal to hearts who will listen to it. Popularity may never be won at the cost of the betrayal of a trust. Its pursuit has constantly to be foregone as it is met by the challenge of some higher, holier claim upon the heart and mind. The good graces of an individual or a society are often purchased at the loss of some grave moral or religious principle. Nor is it given to every one to discern the issue with such plainness as St. Paul. Popularity was secure enough for him, long after he had broken with Judaism, if only he would consent to make compromise. With him sacrifice of principle was out of the question. We know his answer to the Galatians: "If I were bent on pleasing men, I should not be, I could not be, Christ's bond-servant."¹

Alas for the day when Christian teachers or preachers who have tasted the sweets of popularity betray for these their office, their trust, their life! It has been so; it need not be so if the Divine example of the Man Christ Jesus is here as elsewhere followed. For if His pattern be their guide, then every attractive grace and gift of body, soul, and spirit will first be laid at His feet, and then fearlessly used in His service, and they will be observed, though at an immeasurable distance from Him, to advance as He, in favour with God and men.

B. WHITEFOORD.

¹ Gal. i. 10.

ECCLESIASTES XII. 1-7.

WHILE examining of late the periphrases and metaphors used in Icelandic poetry, which they call "kennings," I found, among illustrations from other poetry, many curious "kennings" in the Bible. And some undoubtedly there are in this passage of Ecclesiastes, nay, as it appears to me, more than the common interpretation supposes. The writer, after saying, "Serve God while thou art young, before old age comes, when pleasures fail; serve Him while yet all is bright, while suffering is not constantly recurring like perpetual bad weather," begins a more particular description of old age,—how limbs and senses fail. And this description is marked by some very curious metaphorical substitutes for the plain names of the parts or senses of the body.

"In the days when the *keepers of the house* shall tremble."

The *keepers of the house* are, as all agree, "the arms or hands."

"And the *strong men* shall bow themselves."

The *strong men* are "the legs."

"And the *grinders* cease because they are few, and *those that look out of the windows* be darkened."

"Teeth" and "eyes" are of course meant.

Now, before going on to the next verse, be it observed that this way of describing parts of the body by figures receives much illustration from Icelandic poetry; such "kennings" (as northern grammarians call them) are common. Here are some. The tongue is *the steelyard of song*, also *the plane of the voice*; the mouth, *the temple of words*; eye, *moon of the brows*; brows, *crag of the eyelids*; ears, *mouths of listening*, *tents of listening-door*; hair, *harvest of skull*, *sword of the head*. Sometimes these expressions were meant to be hard and enigmatical; perhaps some of Solomon's phrases were meant to be obscure. For to wrap up wisdom in riddles was an Eastern practice (Prov. i. 6).

Knowing then what kind of language we may expect, return we to our text.

“And the *doors* shall be shut in the *street*.”

I find in one old commentary, “the street doors shall be shut upon thee as now retired to thine own house without care of others’ visits or business.” But it is unlikely that the writer would go back thus suddenly to plain and literal language (returning, as he certainly does afterwards, to figures). *The doors* must surely be *the doors of some other avenue of sense*. Almost beyond a doubt they are *the doors of hearing*. Deafness, as an evil of old age, would hardly have been omitted. *Doors* is a likely metaphor for any inlet of sense. The Psalmist speaks of “the door of my lips.” And Sophocles does in effect describe ears as doors when blind Œdipus is made to say (O.T. 1386): “Had I been able to dam the stream of hearing through my ears, I had not spared so to shut off my wretched body by deafness as well as blindness.” Again, Icelandic poetry illustrates this metaphor. To listen in Icelandic is *hlera*, and *hleri* is “a door or shutter.”

And if in this verse of Ecclesiastes *doors* be “ears,” then “when the sound of the grinding is low” expresses that sounds are low and indistinct to an old man. Grinding, as a very common sound in the East, might be put as an example. This seems better than to go back to the teeth, and explain (as one does): “Thy slow feeding shall make thee unfit for other men’s tables.” The next words of our passage are—

“And he shall rise up at the voice of a bird, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low.”

The common explanation is, “The old men shall be startled at a bird’s voice.” To me this seems very doubtful. It would be more natural, after speaking of failure of eyes and ears, to go on to failure of voice. And might not this be found in the words, “The old man’s voice shall rise

to be as the voice of a chirping bird," i.e., thin, weak, quavering. The word for bird here (*zippor*) means a small, twittering bird. Homer compares his talking greybeards to "cicadas uttering their thin, piping voice." Shakspeare says of the old man :

"His big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound."

If we thus explain these words, then it would seem more consistent to take *the daughters of music* as "the musical tones of the voice," not (as most interpret) "singing women." Of course "daughters of music" could mean "singing women," and we all remember that old Barzillai describes himself as not able now to hear "the voice of singing men or singing women." But that the latter part of this verse 4 refers to the failure and weakness of voice and musical tone appears to me more probable.

Verse 5, "They shall be afraid of that which is high, and terrors shall be in the way."

The old fear to mount or climb; they travel with labour and nervous dread: this much is plain. Then follow again curious metaphors.

"The *almond tree* shall blossom."

Most commentators agree that the blossoming almond tree is a figure for a hoary head.

"And the *grasshopper* shall be a burden."

It always seemed to me unlikely that this could mean, in a Hebrew writer, "the old man will find even a grasshopper too heavy to carry." Who would think of *carrying a grasshopper*? Surely it is again a metaphor, and means, "The once nimble leaper shall be a burden to himself, shall move heavily." One Hebrew word for grasshopper (not exactly that used here, but one akin to it, as Gesenius thinks) means "a leaper." So indeed does our own English word. And one may add that the verb "shall be a burden" is in

the reflexive conjugation (Hithpael) in the Hebrew. The phrase may again be illustrated by the Icelandic adjective *þungfærr*, "heavy to move or carry," a word often applied to old men in the Sagas, *e.g.* "Egil now grew old, and in his old age became heavy in movement and dull both in hearing and sight; he became also stiff in the legs."

In the next expression of verse 5, between "desire" and the "caperberry" (R.V.), I do not presume to decide. After all, they express the same idea, the failure of appetite or of its stimulant. One would rather expect another metaphor after the blossoms of the almond-tree.

Verse 6, "Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel be broken at the cistern."

The general purport of this is, "Remember God before the end of life comes." The breaking off or end of life seems put into metaphors. Some explain: "Life and its powers and uses end, as does all use, when the cord is loosed, the bowl, pitcher or wheel broken." Some take the several phrases to mean parts of the human body: "the spinal marrow, the heart, the tubes and arteries about it." Can any confirmation be found elsewhere of these special meanings? If the phrases could be shown to be "kennings" for parts of the human body, it would harmonize with much of what has gone before, and would strengthen the argument for those expressions being "kennings" which I have argued to be so.

Be it understood that I do not presume to change in any material point the *translation* of R.V., only to suggest a rather different *explanation*, by which the whole passage seems to me to be more consistent and homogeneous. It may be that some of my suggestions are not new, but they are not in any books to which I have present access.

W. C. GREEN.

ON THE GOD-MAN.

I. THE INCARNATION AND THE TRINITY.

AUGUSTINE,¹ who, in this matter, is followed by the Mystics of the Middle Ages² and by Luther himself, found the eternal fact of the Trinity in the conception of *love*. Hutton³ has remarked that Plato, when he proclaimed that God was essentially good,⁴ was on the verge of the doctrine of necessary distinctions in the Godhead. He came short of making the discovery, because he meant by goodness only benevolence. An apparently slight, but really for him impassable, step. As a matter of fact, it is Christianity that has revealed the Trinity of God; for it declares that God is love, "not of condescension towards inferiors, but of mutual affection for equals." God from eternity must have lived a life of companionship.

In the New Testament one of the co-equal Persons in God is called Son; and as Scripture is our only source of knowledge as to the name, we may presume it intends to teach us what conception that name conveys. In the Epistle to the Hebrews Sonship is said to involve two

¹ *De Trin.*, ix. 12 *ad fin.*: "Est quaedam imago Trinitatis, ipsa mens et notitia ejus, quod est proles ejus et de se ipsa verbum ejus, et amor tertius, et haec tria unum atque una substantia."

² See the *Deutsche Theologie*: "God is not absolutely simple [as Origen said, on John i. 21, ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἑστί καὶ ἀπλοῦς], but conscious free love in Himself."

³ Hutton, *Theological Essays*, p. 231, 2nd ed., 1877: "Love was actual in Him as well as potential." He attributes to this thought his conversion from Unitarianism. For a luminous discussion of the various views held of the conception of God cf. Prof. Iverach, *Is God Knowable*, ch. x.

⁴ *Rep.*, II. 379: ἀγαθὸς ὁ γε θεὸς τῷ ὄντι καὶ λεκτέον οὕτως, and *Tim.* 29 E: λέγωμεν δὴ, δι' ἣντινα αἰτίαν γένησιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τότε ὁ ξυριστὰς ξυρέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὧν πάντα ὁ τι μάλιστα γερέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ, κ.τ.λ.

mutually dependent ideas—origin and subordination. We have the former stated, according to the interpretation first suggested by Origen,¹ in Hebrews i. 5: "Thou art My Son: this day have I begotten thee"; and in Hebrews v. 5, the same words, cited from a Messianic psalm, clearly indicate the Son's subjection to the Father, even before "the days of His flesh." We accept these two verses as a declaration of the Son's eternal generation and, in consequence of His filial origin, personal subordination. The origination of the Son is expressed in Hebrews i. 5, "My Son," and His subordination in Hebrews i. 9, "My God." In Philippians ii. 6 the Apostle Paul speaks of the Person, who took the form of a servant, as "being in the form of God"; and Bengel,² with his usual felicity, remarks that, though the expressions "to be in the form of God," and "to be equal with God," do not mean "to be God," still He who was in the form of God, and was equal with God, *is* God. But, the Apostle says, He who was equal with God thought not of grasping that equality. Here we have equality and subordination. As the author of the Epistle already cited claims for the Son eternal origination, he declares in v. 8 the readiness with which He learned the difficult lessons of His obedience. "Though He were a Son," to whom, therefore, obedience would spring spon-

¹ In *Comm. in Joan.*, tom. I. § 32, he explains *σήμερον* in Hebrews i. 5 as denoting timeless existence. "To God *ἀεί ἐστι τὸ σήμερον*." The same view is accepted by Athanasius, *Or. I. c. Arian.*, § 14: *εἰ δὲ ἀίδιον γέννημα τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγεται, καλῶς λέγεται*, and in *De Decr.*, § 13, he has the same doctrine. So Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.*, xi. 5; and Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.*, ii.: "Quamquam etiam possit ille dies in prophetia dictus videri, quo Jesus Christus secundum hominem natus est, tamen *hodie* quia praesentiam significat atque in aeternitate nec praeteritum quidquam est, quasi esse desierit, nec futurum, quasi nondum sit, sed praesens tantum, quia quicquid aeternum est semper est; divinitus accipitur secundum id dictum, *ego hodie genui te*, quo sempiternam generationem virtutis et sapientiae Dei, qui est unigenitus Filius, fides sincerissima et catholica praedicat."

² On Phil. ii. 6, *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, "Forma Dei non est natura divina, neque *τὸ esse pariter Deo* est natura divina; sed tamen is, qui in formâ Dei extabat, et qui potuerat *esse pariter Deo* Deus est."

taneously to meet His Father's command, yet, such was the character of His obedience, that He had to learn it through the hardship and painful discipline of sufferings. Bishop Westcott¹ explains the meaning to be "that the nature of Christ's sonship at first sight seems to exclude the thought that He should learn obedience through suffering," that is, that He underwent suffering though He was a Son who was on an equality with His Father, and, therefore, under no obligation to obey. But, even on this, as it appears to the present writer, wrong interpretation, the Son is represented as willing to obey *because He is Son*. Why should He be designated Son in this connection, if it is not because His sonship implies natural willingness to obey, or subordination, even at the possible cost of suffering? Besides, the Son's equality with the Father is expressed with sufficient distinctness in the fifth verse. We infer that subordination, rightly understood, contains a great truth, and Origen's happy phrase, "eternal generation," implies subordination, without sacrificing equality. For a son is by the fact of sonship subordinate; but whatever is eternal and within the Godhead is equal. The subordination of the Son is taught by our Lord Himself in John v. 19, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing: for what things soever He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner"; and in John xiv. 28: "The Father is greater than I," which the Greek expositors rightly consider to include the Son's subordination to the Father within the sphere of the Trinity. The interpretation that the words refer only to the Son's humanity was introduced by Augustine.² But the disciples were not in

¹ *In loc.*

² Cf. Augustine, *Tract. in Joan.*, lxxix.: "Quid itaque mirum vel quid indignum, si secundum hanc formam servi loquens ait Dei filius, *Pater major me est*, et secundum Dei formam loquens ait idem ipse Dei filius, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*"?

danger of thinking that the human nature of Christ was equal with God. Equality and subordination may be quite consistent with each other.

From His peculiar¹ subordination we infer His Sonship, and from His Sonship His personality. His origin is expressed in the phrase, *διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*, "generate from ingenerate"; and his subordination in the words, *διὰ τὸν πατέρα*, leaving the *monarchia*² of the Father intact. Similarly, the origination of all things created is expressed by *δι' αὐτοῦ*, and the subordination of all by *δι' αὐτόν*. He sustains the same relation of subordination from eternity to the Father which the universe by creation bears to Himself.

He is, therefore, not an eternal attribute of God, as the Old Testament appellation, "Wisdom,"³ might lead us to think; nor a mere revelation of the Father, as we might be tempted to infer from His being called "the Word" in the Fourth Gospel.⁴ He is a personal Son, "God of God, very God of very God," who hears His Father's voice and willingly obeys His behests. In the life of God all things are equal. But, as F. W. Faber⁵ beautifully expresses it :

Thy Spirit is Thy jubilee;
Thy Word is Thy delight;
Thou givest them to equal Thee
In glory and in might.

Thou art too great to keep unshared
Thy grand eternity;
They have it as Thy gift to them,
Which is no gift to Thee.

¹ The word "peculiar" is added to distinguish between the subordination of the Son and that of the Spirit; for we must affirm the *monarchia* of the Father, who alone is *Fons Trinitatis*, if not *Deitatis*. Subordination in the case of the Son is owing to *generation*, but in the case of the Spirit to *procession*. On the reasons why the Son, not the Spirit, became incarnate cf. unsatisfactory answers in Anselm, *De Fide Dei Trinitatis*, cap. v. [al. iv.].

² Cf. Newman, *Arians*, p. 191 sqq., Ed. 1883.

³ Prov. viii. 22.

⁴ John i. 1.

⁵ *Hymns*.

Hence we say that the Son is the Archetype of Man, in respect of the two things we have mentioned. He is generated Son as truly as Man is created Son; and, because He is naturally Son, He is personally subordinate to His Father, as truly as Man is under obligation to obey his Creator.

It may be asked why we do not, by parity of reason, make the same assertion concerning the angels. We answer that the same thing can be said of all creatures that have man's moral nature, reason, freedom, and immortality. But man has race existence; the angels have only individual existence. So far as they belong to a type, the angels are human. Man is God's highest creature, therefore; and he aims at becoming, not like the angels, but like the Son of God, who is at once his prototype and his ideal. Between these poles the development of God's revelation in Christ makes its grand and majestic sweep,—from God to man, from man to God, from the highest place on the throne of heaven to the parts lower than the earth,¹ from the humiliation of death to the glorification of a joyful immortality.

In Robertson of Brighton's "Sermon on the Trinity"² much, and not a whit too much, is made of what the great preacher calls the humanity of Deity. It was at the period when Mansel³ was teaching the limits of human knowledge of the Infinite. By this he meant, as he explains in

¹ Eph. iv. 9.

² Third Series, p. 60, of the original edition (1857).

³ Mansel delivered his Bampton Lectures in 1858. Cf. especially Lect. I., p. 17 (Third Ed.), and the corresponding Note 22, p. 234; Lect. VIII., p. 260: "These partial revelations of the Divine Consciousness, though, as finite, they are unable speculatively to represent the Absolute Nature of God, have yet each of them a regulative purpose to fulfil in the training of the mind of man." Mansel was the "theological interpreter" of Sir W. Hamilton, and the theory he advocates has been over and over again refuted by several writers, such as Maurice, Calderwood, Martineau, and latterly Principal Caird in his *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, chap. i. A similar theory was held by the Gnostics and rejected by Irenæus, who taught that God can be known (ii. 5). Eusebius also speaks of God as the Absolute, while the orthodox maintained that He was Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

his "Bampton Lectures," that man has only a "regulative" conception of God. While Mansel defends Anthropomorphism as a necessary condition of our thoughts, and an "accommodation," or "symbol," Robertson, more truly, discovers in "this humanity in the mind of God" a true representation of the Divine reality. But when, on the same page, he speaks of this humanity as being "the Word, the Son, the Form of God," he seems to miss the point of his own broad and profound statement. For *this* humanity is common to the three Persons in the Godhead. All three have "the attributes of wisdom, justice, love, creative power, indignation"; and these mean, though in an infinitely more perfect degree, exactly what they mean when applied to man. The properties which the Son has, and the Father has not, are origination and subordination. Thus it comes to pass that the Son is to us the revelation of God's humanity in two quite distinct forms: first, in what the Trinity and man have in common; and, second, in what the Son in the Trinity and man have in common. The Son is "the image of the invisible God"; He represents God to man, in having and manifesting the attributes of wisdom, justice, love, etc. But the Son is also "the firstborn of all creation"; for He it is who in God is the Archetype of man in the peculiar possession of origination and subordination.¹ He does not come into existence in time by creation, but He is eternally in that dynamic relation to the Father which is implied in the *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν* of John, a generation from the Father and a movement to the Father. Yet this constitutes Him the Archetype of all persons that are created.

"The capacity of self-abnegation and self-surrender to an Infinite Object" is that "in which religion may be said to consist."² But in the Divine Son we see this capacity

¹ Col. i. 15.

² Principal Caird, in his powerful book on the *Philosophy of Religion*, ch. vi.

exemplified perfectly and from eternity, because He is Son, ever hearing the Father's voice. In Him, therefore, we recognise what is highest and divinest in man, when "he rises above his petty individuality into a region which is universal and infinite."¹

The doctrine of the Logos, as eternal Man, may be stated in such a way that it becomes a dangerous error. But it is true and innocent (1) if it be distinguished from the theory of an eternal creation, which is pantheistic; (2) if the Divine Logos be preserved intact as existing actually within the Trinity; (3) if the eternal Man be understood only as an idea of what the Logos incarnate will be; (4) if care be taken not to destroy any element of humiliation or suffering in the new condition into which the Logos will enter through incarnation, or any element of a contingent character that may arise because of sin and the resulting gracious redemption.

The Son, therefore, is the image,² both as representation and as manifestation, of the unseen God, and He is the Archetype of the not yet created Man. Whatever is involved in the Son's being the image of God, He has the image in common with man; and man has God's image in common with the Logos, and, according to the Apostle's view, as God's image exists in the Logos. The image, therefore, means, not any corporeal form, but rather that personal, spiritual, and morally free existence, which is consequently immortal. For we are taught in Genesis i. 27 (26)³ that God created man in His own image, and

¹ Ditto. Cf. Luthard, cited by Strong (*Syst. Theol.*, p. 165): "Herein is indicated an antemundane origin from God—a relation internal to the Divine Nature." Also cf. Dr. Whiton, *Gloria Patri*, p. 150: "The eternal subordination of the Son to the Father [is] clearly recognised in Scripture, though disallowed by an unbiblical dogmatism."

² Perhaps it ought to be explained that no reference is intended in what follows to man as an individual, nor to the supposed tripartite nature of man as being analogous to the Trinity in God.

³ Cf. Wisd. Sol. ii. 23, *εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος ἐποίησεν [ὁ θεός] αὐτόν*.

yet we are told also that the exalted Son is the image of God,¹ as He was also before the worlds.² He, through whom God made the æons was already "the effulgence of His glory and the very image of His substance."³ Why is the Son said to be the image of God? John Damascene, who may be regarded as summing up the doctrine of the Fathers—he died about the middle of the 8th century—gives a mere negative answer: "The Son being the natural image of the Father, differs in some respect from Him. For He is Son, and not Father."⁴ But this is insufficient, because man also is said to be the image of God. Subordination, therefore, within the sphere of the Trinity must be included in the conception of natural image as applied to the Son, who was the Archetype of man. They differ in this, at least, that man is the image of God because he has received his life from God, and has it only in God; but the Son, who likewise has received his life from God inasmuch as He is Son, has that life, inasmuch as He is God, "in Himself."⁵ This verse contains the apparent self-assertion of Jesus, together with His real self-denial. When He says that the Son has life in Himself, He is no "boaster," but honours God, who has bestowed this great gift on Him; and He affirms at the same time His own God-sent mission, because He has received the gift in order to give it to others, who will always have it not in themselves, but in the giver, and cannot therefore hand it on to others as if it were their own.

What we have come to is the identity of moral goodness in God and in man. The Son possesses this ethical nature under one aspect, and the Father under another, and that

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4, τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.

² Cf. Col. i. 15, ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου.

³ Heb. i. 3.

⁴ Cf. Damasc., *De Imaginibus*, Or. I. ix. : εἰκὼν τοίνυν ζῶσα, φυσικὴ, καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ ὁ υἱός, ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρων τὸν πατέρα, κατὰ πάντα ἔχων τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ταυτότητα, μόνῳ δὲ διαφέρων τῷ αἰτιατῷ. Cf. also III. xvi.

⁵ John v. 26.

by reason of the Fatherhood of the latter and the Sonship of the former. We may call this difference a governmental relation. Ethics implies government, not in the sense of forcible subjection, nor in the sense of optional submission, but in the sense of voluntary, but necessary, economy. As Waterland says, "supremacy of office, by mutual agreement and voluntary economy, belongs to the Father, while the Son out of voluntary condescension submits to act ministerially or in capacity of mediator. And the reason why the condescending part became God the Son rather than God the Father is because He is a Son, and because it best suits with the natural order of persons, which had been reversed by contrary economy."¹ Perhaps Waterland does not sufficiently emphasize the ethically *necessary* subordination as implied in the "natural order of persons." The actual command of the Father to the Son was matter of loving and free council in the Trinity. But that assumes a prior necessity arising from sonship, which of course was not of constraint, but the willing obedience of the Son. As in the case of every moral goodness, the act is at once necessary and free. The Fatherhood and the Sonship are necessary relations within the Trinity; the actual economy to which we have referred is gracious and voluntary. But Father and Son are in consequence of this economy in the relation of one who has authority to command and one who naturally ministers and obeys. There is a *πολιτεία*, or constitution, established between them. Here comes the objection to Dr. Martineau's striking remark, "that He who is the Son in the one creed is the Father in the other." "The Father is God in His primæval essence," he continues, "while the Son is God speaking out in phenomena and fact."² According to this, the Father is unknown and

¹ Waterland's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 2, Oxford, 1823.

² *A Way out of the Trinitarian Controversy*, cited by Dr. Whiton, who accepts Martineau's statements, *Gloria Patri*, p. 26.

unknowable, absolute and unconditioned. But, if so, He cannot be Father, which brings Him into relation, and implies His being revealed in His Son. He has revealed Him not as God simply, which would on the part of the Son be self-revelation, but as Father; and He has said that "no man knoweth the Father save the Son," but has also added that "He knoweth the Father to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." If we say that the Father is unknown until He is revealed in the Son, we are expressing one of the truths of Christianity. In this respect we are all "content to remain Agnostics"; or, as Hooker said, "Our soundest knowledge of the Most High is to know that we know Him not indeed as He is, neither can know Him." That revelation which the Son brings us of the Father is certified to us by a power, which the New Testament calls *faith*. This is a very different thing from the assertion that "the power which the Universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable, in which the difference of subject and object disappears." Christ reveals God by telling us that He is Father.

We cannot, therefore, when we speak of the Incarnation, think of it as meaning nothing more than the immanence of God in the world. It is perfectly true that the doctrine of God's immanence makes the doctrine of the Incarnation possible. Athanasius says: "There is but one form of Godhead, which is also in the Word; and one God, the Father, existing by Himself according as He is above all, and appearing in the Son according as He pervades all things (*καὶ ἐν τῷ νῷ δὲ φαινόμενος κατὰ τὸ διὰ πάντων διήκειν*), and in the Spirit as in Him He acts in all things through the Word."¹ The Incarnation is a special form of

¹ *Or. III. c. Arianos*, § 15. Apparently Athanasius intended this to be an exposition of Ephesians iv. 6. But the words "over all, and through all, and in all" must be closely connected with "One God and Father," and cannot refer to "the one Spirit and the one Lord."

God's immanence (ἐνύπαρξις). In Robertson's Introduction to Athanasius the following remarks are pertinent: "Deny His immanence, and you have only the God of polytheism, at an infinite distance from the creature, a God that cannot come into touch with the universe except through a Logos, who is Himself a creature, and needs himself a medium between Him and God. But if the creature is the habitation of God, the immanent God can come still nearer to the creature; He can not only dwell in His creation, but can become a creature; God can become incarnate. Thus is reconciled the transcendence with the immanence of God."¹

Here we recall Luther's great saying, "*Finitum capax infiniti*."² He means that the finite is capable of receiving the infinite because of God's ethical nature. In the importance he ascribed to love as the essence of God, he was anticipated by Richard of St. Victor.³ As Dorner⁴ describes Luther's doctrine, "God is not content with the glory of being the Creator of all creatures. He seeks also to be known in what He is inwardly. His glory is His love, which seeks the lowly and the poor." This Luther calls the New Wisdom. In the old language creature signifies something which is infinitely separated from the highest divinity, so that the two are directly opposed to one another, and mutually exclusive. The old wisdom had led Europe a second time to a doketic Christ. But Athanasius and Luther went back to a still older wisdom, which would combine the transcendent with the immanent God: transcendent, that He may be imma-

¹ Translation of Athanasius, p. lxxii. I have adopted Robertson's excellent version throughout.

² Cf. Frank, *Die Theologie der Concordienformen*, vol. iii., p. 233, sqq. It is the δεικτικός of Iren., iv. 75.

³ Richard combined Mysticism and Scholasticism. Cf. Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, book v., chap. ii.

⁴ *History of Protestant Theology*, I., p. 199 (E. T.)

nent; Christ *for* us, that He may become Christ *within* us. Hence the error of Mr. Fiske's statement that the belief in the immanence of God must destroy the conception of His transcendence. In fact, the latter conception is equally necessary with the former, before we can have all the ethical ideas about God. There is a polytheistic immanence as well as a monotheistic. When the savage believes that hatchets have souls or when the ancient Arab idolater believed that the Deity dwelt in a boulder stone,¹ the soul and the Deity were regarded as immanent, but unmoral, just as, on the other hand, the transcendent gods of Epicurus were not moral nor immoral, but un-moral.

Even the doctrine of the immanence of God we must combine with the language that embodies God's transcendence. Christ reveals the immanent God. He addresses Him as "*Our Father*," because immanent, but He adds, "*which art in heaven*," because the Father is transcendent. In *both* aspects God is personal. In this manner we can distinguish God's existence in us through the Spirit, from His existence in Christ. If it were not so, every immanent dwelling of God would be an incarnation. Hence the words of Kant² are true and important: "The conception of God involves not merely a blindly operating Nature as the eternal root of things, but a *Supreme Being*, that shall be the Author of all things by free and understanding action."

T. C. EDWARDS.

¹ W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 189.

² Quoted by Fiske, *The Idea of God*, p. 317.

*THE "CURSING OF THE GROUND" AND THE
"REVEALING OF THE SONS OF GOD" IN
RELATION TO NATURAL FACTS.*

III. THE RESTORATION.

THE calamities produced by the Fall are not irretrievable. Man had been defeated in his first encounter with the serpent; but the fight was to be continued. The enemy would have to adopt new, base, and insidious tactics, his head in the dust; and, finally, a descendant of the beguiled woman will, though not without conflict and wounding, bruise his head. This protevangel, which is the key-note of the whole Bible, and the commission of the Saviour Himself, extends through the writings of prophets and psalmists down to the triumphant songs of the Apocalypse. For a time, however, little is said of the share of the lower creation, either in the defeat or the triumph. One note is struck in the blessing on Noah after the flood, referred to in the last article, which announces a removal of the curse, except that part of it which proceeds from "the evil imagination of man's heart." Here and there the subject is referred to in the book of Job, in the Psalms, in the prophecy of Ezekiel, and more fully in the remarkable passage in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, which paints peace among the lower animals and a little child as leading them. The cherubic figures also continued to testify through all this time to the share of the lower creation in the benefit of man's redemption. It will be better, however, for our present purposes not to dwell on these passages, and to go on at once to the wonderful view of the relation of nature and man contained in the eighth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which may be considered as the central and crowning testimony on the subject, Paul was not merely an apostle commissioned

to preach to man the Gospel of salvation ; he was a scholar saturated with the Old Testament literature, and fully alive to the aspects of nature and of man viewed from the broadest and most philosophical standpoint. All these stores of knowledge and culture he was inspired to bring to bear on this difficult subject, and to draw from it truth useful to every Christian. The kernel of the passage reads as follows in the revised version : "For the earnest expectation (outstretched neck) of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the Sons of God, for the creation was subjected to vanity (failure) not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together (with us) even until now."

The setting of this passage shows us the purpose for which it was introduced. The time was one of suffering for Christians, but this suffering leads to a future of incomparable glory. Nor are Christians to be alone in this glory. All nature, doomed to "vanity" and "corruption" by man's fall, is to be emancipated from this painful disability in his restoration, and this is linked with the fact that in man himself, not merely the soul and spirit, but the body also is to be redeemed. This accords with Paul's reasoning elsewhere as to the first and second Adam,¹ with the prediction of Peter as to a new heaven and new earth,² and with the glowing pictures of the restoration of Eden as the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse.³ The germ of the same doctrine we, no doubt, also have in the teaching of Christ.⁴

Let us now examine more closely the testimony of St. Paul. It is not necessary to discuss the many and often

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 20, *et seq.*

² Rev. xxi.

³ 2 Pet. iii.

⁴ Matt. xxii. 29.

grotesque notions which have been held respecting the word "creation" (*κτίσις*). Many of these arise from entire failure to appreciate the fact that the Apostle is dealing not with man alone, but with nature as a whole. The word can mean nothing less than all created things, especially when it has prefixed to it the adjective "whole"—"the whole creation."¹ More especially, no doubt, he refers to the animal creation as that which can best express its sufferings; but there is a sense also in which vegetation and even inanimate things can mutely complain of the wrong done them, or rejoice in the favour of God and give glory to Him.² May we not, therefore, suppose that to thoughtful and inspired men, and to God Himself, creation has been all along lamenting its losses by the Fall?

This creation, then, is represented as "waiting with outstretched neck," or "groaning and travailing in pain." The pain is not, however, that of dissolution, but that of birth, a very expressive figure, pointing to that failure of fulfilment of promise and progress to which the world was doomed by the fall of man. It is as if at the introduction of man the creation had come to the birth of a glorious new era, but its parturition was arrested by the Fall, and it continues in travail until now, and must so continue until the revealing of the sons of God. Thus there is no pessimism in Paul's view. The travailing of creation is but an episode, a long-delayed birth-pang in the great programme of God's creation, which extends from the first introduction of life to the final consummation. All through the geological ages there had been more or less of suffering and death, but these were in the interest of the greater happiness of the greater number, and for the sake of the onward progress of the whole. So even the aggravated sufferings of the lower creatures, by the sin of man, are the travail-pains of a new

¹ See also verse 29 of the same chapter.

² Isa. xxiv. 4, *et seq.*; Ps. xix. 1, cxlvi. 1.

birth. Our sufferings also look toward the glory following, and our groans are the impatient longings for a promised redemption. The practical lesson, therefore, to us is not one of despair, but of faith and hope.

The "vanity" to which nature has been subjected by man's sin is literally failure or unprofitableness, a falling short of its purpose, just as in the case of a plant which puts forth its leaves but withers away before producing its flowers or fruit, and finally falls into "corruption" or decay without fulfilling the main purpose of its existence. Nature was subjected to this "vanity," not by any fault of its own, but "because of him who subjected it," that new head of creation who, failing in his obligations to God, fell from his first estate and was the cause of putting back the clock of the world by a whole age. Creation suffers in some sense even more severely than man, as the soldiers of an army may suffer more severely than the leader who, by folly or wickedness, has subjected them to danger and defeat. The animal creation more particularly suffers, not only directly, but indirectly, through the tyranny and cruelty of man himself. It cannot, like man, have a promise and a hope, nor can it have the support of the indwelling Spirit to sustain it, nor can it experience the full benefits of the redemption, for it has not the immortal life and individuality of man; and its past generations have all fallen in the wilderness; only the final survivors can share the liberty of the restoration. This distinction Paul expresses by speaking of nature as a whole, not as individuals, and by characterizing its deliverance as one from bondage into the liberty which it will attain when the children of God, as individual heirs of glory, shall attain to their inheritance.

Just as, after the deluge, there was some mitigation of the original curse, so now under the Christian dispensation there may be some alleviation of the woes of creation. The merciful man is merciful to his beast, and enlightened

Christianity must necessarily have respect for those humble companions who have been subjected to failure not willingly, but by our fault. It is to be feared, however, that this great duty, so manifestly pointed out in the Bible, is as yet too little before the minds of the children of God, who should in this be like their Father in Heaven, who cares for all the works of His hands. Its full accomplishment is to come at the revealing of the sons of God, and of this Christ speaks as identical with His own second coming, that age in which men die no more, but are as the angels, and are manifested as "the sons of God, being sons of the Resurrection."¹ It is scarcely necessary to say to readers of the New Testament that this identity of the coming of Christ and the revealing of His people runs through all the apostolic writings. A good example is the statement of Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians, that "when Christ who is our Life shall be manifested, then shall ye also be manifested with Him in glory." In the passage now in question Paul defines (verse 14) the sons of God to be those who are "led by the Spirit of God," and the creation waits for the "revealing" of these, now in obscurity and even in suffering; and this revealing he connects with the "redemption of the body," or the resurrection and new spiritual body of which he has written to the Corinthians.¹ When this happy time comes, when death, the last enemy as well as the first, has been finally overcome by Christ "who is our Life," then will the whole creation, wrecked by Adam's fall, "itself also be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God." It seems further evident that this can be nothing else than the new heaven and new earth predicted by Peter,² and the New Jerusalem of John, in which there is "no more curse."

It is now pertinent to our present purpose to enquire a

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 44;

² 2 Peter iii. 13.

little as to these foreviews in their relation to the Fall and the promise of restoration. John, in the Apocalypse, bases his prediction on the conditions of Eden and the Fall. In an anticipatory note of triumph in the earlier part of his book ¹ he informs us :—

Every created thing which is in the heaven, and in the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, heard I saying: Unto Him that sitteth on the throne and unto the Lamb be blessing and honour and glory and dominion for ever and ever.

To this the four living creatures or cherubim say "Amen," thus showing that, whatever their nature and significance in Eden, they are here heavenly representatives of creation redeemed. Thus we have presented to us the cherubim which guarded the Tree of Life in a new relation to paradise regained.

In like manner the golden streets, the pearly gates, and the walls of precious stones in the New Jerusalem, represent the gold, bedolach, and shoham stone carefully and laboriously collected by primitive man in one of the rivers of Eden.² The tree of life becomes a grove of trees, no longer inaccessible to man, and the streams of Eden are represented by "a river of water of life." It is in consistency with this adoption of the imagery of Eden that there shall be "no more pain or death," that "all things are made new," and that "there shall be no more curse." The change from a garden to a city would seem to intimate that all that is good in the civilization of fallen man shall be preserved, unalloyed with evil, in his new and renovated world.

This raises the great question—Is it the same earth in

¹ Chap. v. 13.

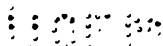
² See my work, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, and paper in a previous volume of the *EXPOSITOR*.

which we now live that is to experience this glorious change and to be the abode of the redeemed? In so far as the New Testament is concerned, the best answer is probably to be obtained from that remarkable passage in the second Epistle of Peter, in which the deluge and the final catastrophe of the present world are placed in juxtaposition.¹ With reference to the flood, Peter says that "the earth, compacted (standing together) out of water and by means of water, being overflowed with water, perished," in so far as its "kosmos" or arrangement was concerned. This clear description of a physical fact warrants us in attaching a like physical meaning to the succeeding statement that fire is being "stored up" for a new and different destruction, which will result in a greater change than that effected by the flood, or in the production of a new heaven and new earth, not merely a new kosmos.²

In his excellent articles, in recent numbers of this journal, on the second coming of Christ, Prof. Agar Beet refers to the physical possibility of the earth becoming naturally dried up and lifeless as a prelude to a new era; but this would require an immense lapse of time, and would scarcely agree with Peter's foreview of a fiery destruction. There are two other ways in which such a change might be effected under the operation of ordinary physical laws, and of which we know something, because there is reason to believe that they have actually occurred in past time. The first is the impact of some solid body rushing toward the sun by the force of gravitation and striking the earth on its way. Such a collision might reduce the earth to a liquid or even vaporous condition, or might so affect its interior as to produce stupendous changes on its surface. It would,

¹ 2 Peter chap. iii.

² The words γῆ, κόσμος, οἰκουμένη, and αἶων indifferently translated "world" in the Old English version, are used with strict scientific accuracy in the New Testament.



however, require a long time to restore the earth to a habitable condition after such an event. But without any such foreign disturbing cause, the earth's crust might collapse and might be violently ridged up, with great extrusion of molten matter on its surface and of dust into its atmosphere, and wholesale destruction of man and his works. Such a catastrophe is known to have occurred at the close of the great Palæozoic period, in the Permian and Triassic ages, and on a smaller scale in the Pleiocene Tertiary age. Such changes might be of comparatively short duration,¹ but would as effectually destroy the present kosmos, or order of things, as the deluge destroyed that of the Antediluvian time. The occurrence of such a catastrophe would, physically considered, be no more a miracle than an earthquake or a volcanic eruption, events which, on a small scale, resemble extensive cosmic revolutions which have again and again in the course of geological time interrupted those slow and gradual changes which, because they have produced the greater part of the stratified rocks, bulk more largely in the eyes of geologists than those more rapid critical changes which occur only at long intervals.

The times of these great cosmic changes are known to the Creator, and may be regulated by Him in harmony with the requirements of His moral government, but they cannot be calculated by us. It is enough for us to know that a great critical change must at some time, near or remote, close the era of comparative uniformity in which we live, and that such a cataclysm is plainly foreshown in New Testament prophecy. Nor can we suppose when we read such passages as that above quoted from St. Peter² that

¹ There are the strongest physical reasons to believe that the great crumpings of the earth's crust and extrusions of molten rock accompanying and following them were paroxysmal.

² Peter's argument against the "wilful ignorance" of those who hold that all things will continue as they are, is a strictly geological one, based legitimately on physical facts. 2 Peter iii. 5.

these anticipations are altogether symbolic, or that they are intended to relate to any other earth than that which we now inhabit.

Allow me to draw a geological picture illustrative of these possibilities. Let us suppose, for example, that a visitor from some other sphere has examined our continents in the great Carboniferous age, when our coal-beds were in process of formation in vast swampy flats under an equable climate, by the growth of trees quite different from those now existing. These forests would have, of course, seemed to him primeval and permanent, and he would see no sign of change. But had he returned a little later, he would have witnessed the rolling up of these flat coal-deposits into high mountains, amid great displays of internal igneous force; and when this time of trouble was over, he would find a new kosmos, with new species of trees and of land animals, a different geography, and a different climate. Still later, and after a great and long-continued submergence of the continents under the sea of the Chalk period, he would, on another visit, have beheld a new fauna of mammalian animals, and again a quite different vegetation, while he would have witnessed the wondrous spectacle of a climate so mild that fruits of kinds now limited to warm temperate latitudes would ripen within the Arctic circle. Later still, all this beauty would seem to be forever wiped out by the cold and submergence of the glacial period, which, however, was but a long winter to be followed by the genial spring of the post-glacial in which man appeared. If God has done such things in carrying out His long programme of the world's history, and if man has already witnessed one great and destructive change followed by a renewed world, may there not be similar and possibly still greater changes in store for the earth? These vicissitudes, it is true, occupied long time; but there are some indications that they have been more rapid in later than in earlier

times. After the considerable period of quiescence since man came on the earth, we may be nearing another great critical period, for which the forces have been long accumulating, and which may reach their culminating point at any time, though the times and seasons of such events are quite beyond our calculation. There is, therefore, nothing unreasonable in Peter's idea of the "storing up" of fire for such an event, and his foreview of this may be as much in accordance with natural facts as the admirable sketch of the deluge with which he prefaces it.

One great difference, however, meets us here, in the share which man and other creatures may have in the coming geologic age. Whereas in previous ages animal species became extinct, and were replaced by others, in the coming age, while this may still apply to the lower animals, it will not hold good of man, who, as a spiritual and immortal being, must preserve his individuality, and thus the same men will re-appear, albeit in a glorified state, in the new earth for which we look. Thus, while all that can be said of the lower animals is that those creatures which became extinct "furnish the stock of their successors,"¹—perhaps more literally the "types" of their successors,—man passes on individually from the present to the future stage. The further question as to how he is to be preserved through the fiery ordeal of the perishing world, and in what body he shall come, is beyond the domain of natural facts as at present known. Thus if the consideration of past geological ages might induce us to look forward with dread to future and mighty convulsions such as those which have decimated the earth's living inhabitants in former times, revelation teaches us to hope for a new and better life in a renovated world. Paul says of it, "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed to us-ward," and speaks of our religion as animated

¹ Zittel, *Palaeontologie*.

by the hope of that new and yet unseen world. Peter, in like manner, says to us: "Seeing that we look for these things, give diligence that we may be found without spot and blameless in His sight." John, looking to the manifestation of Christ, exclaims, "Every one that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as He is pure." Christ Himself strikes the key-note of all this in His frequent references to His second coming, and in the last chapter of the Apocalypse He is represented as grasping the whole of the present and the coming age in the significant proclamation: "I am the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End. Blessed are they that wash their robes, that they may have the right to the Tree of Life, and may enter in by the gates into the city." Here we have the Divine unity of nature and of grace, of the beginnings of humanity, and the final revelation of the sons of God and restitution of all things; and all this in the Redeemer and His second coming and glorious kingdom: "Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

*ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TWO PASSAGES
IN THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.¹*

ONE of the many injurious results of the dominant North-Galatian theory is that it has led to a general misinterpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. When the Epistle was supposed to refer to certain historical facts, there was produced an unconscious bias in the direction of finding references to these facts. It is proposed here to give two examples of such misinterpretation of the Greek of the Epistle.

¹ Probably the two interpretations here advocated are not new: it is difficult to find anything that has not been said before about Paul. But they were novel to some excellent authorities to whom I mentioned them.

I. It is a necessary consequence of the North-Galatian theory that *Galatians* ii. 1-10 describes the same events as *Acts* xv.; and the words of Paul have been tortured to read them into some sort of misfitting reference to those events. In accordance with the belief (which I shall try soon to establish conclusively) that *Acts* is one of the few great first-rate historical works which have as yet been written, and that it stands in remarkably close agreement with the other records, direct or indirect, which have come down to us, it is of course necessary for me to hold that, when Paul declares his second visit to Jerusalem to have taken place in the fourteenth year after his conversion,¹ and describes it, his words must be applied to what Luke expressly declares to have been his second visit, and not to what Luke describes as his third visit. If this point is abandoned, then it becomes vain to seek for synchronisms or agreements. Anything in early Christian history can be made to agree with anything else, if Paul's second visit in *Galatians* ii. 1-10 is his third visit in *Acts* xv.; and we should have to acquiesce in the conclusion that Luke as an historian stands little above a common witness in a court of law, who will describe an event that occurred in his own presence so loosely and inaccurately and unintelligently, that it is not quite easy to reconcile his description with that of another eye-witness. Such a conclusion is fatal to the position which I am eager to defend. I frankly admit that the account given of any incident by a great historian must seize the critical points in its evolution, and represent these in their proper proportions, and that the account given by a sensible and honest witness must always confirm in a

¹ Some prefer to understand "after his first visit." The point is for our present purpose immaterial (though the entire chronology of the period depends on it); and it is therefore unnecessary to defend my interpretation here. The paper will not be affected, if those who prefer the other sense (which is of course grammatically justifiable), substitute it in the above sentence.

striking and conclusive way the great historian's narrative. If they are hard to reconcile, or if their resemblance is lame and inconclusive, then either the historian is second- (or third) -rate, or the witness is incompetent or dishonest.

It will be best to begin by quoting the Greek of *Epist. Gal.* ii. 1-10, on the left as it is given by Westcott and Hort, and on the right as I think it should be punctuated.

ἔπειτα διὰ ἰδ' ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβαν, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν ταῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἑλλήν ὢν, ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς, οἵτινες πάρεισήλθον κατασκοπῆσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν, οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἵξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμεῖνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι· ὅποιοι ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει, πρόσωπον Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει· ἔμοι γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέβητο, κτλ.¹

ἔπειτα διὰ ἰδ' ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβαν, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον—(ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν)—, καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν—(κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν)—, μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον—(ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί Ἑλλήν ὢν ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι)— διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπῆσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν· οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἵξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμεῖνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι (ὅποιοι ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει—πρόσωπον Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει)—ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέβητο, ἀλλὰ τοῦνάντιον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς (ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη), καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβαν κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐπορεύσασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

¹ Below this point it is unnecessary to quote Westcott and Hort's text, as the difference is slight.

It is advisable to give first a translation of the passage without the parenthetical clauses, which make its construction so awkward, though they add so much to its argumentative power when properly comprehended.

"Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus as companion;¹ and I laid before them [*i.e.* the Apostles]² the gospel which I have continued preaching³ among the Gentiles, with the purpose that neither the work of my life nor my past work might be rendered ineffective, and [*taking this step*] by reason of the insinuating pseudo-Christians who crept in covertly to be spies on our liberty, which we [*the right-thinking Christians*] enjoy in Christ Jesus, in order to enslave us; but to them we did not for one hour yield by our submission, to the end that the gospel truth might remain safe unto you. But from the recognised⁴ leaders—the recognised leaders, I repeat, imparted to me no further instruction, but, on the contrary, seeing that I hold in trust the gospel of the non-circumcision as Peter [*does the gospel*] of the circumcision, and knowing the grace given me, they—James, and Cephas, and John—the recognised pillars [*of the Church*], gave the right hand of fellowship to me and to Barnabas that we [*go*] to the Gentiles, and they themselves to the circumcision. Only [*they charged us*] to remember the poor [*brethren at Jerusalem*], which very duty I zealously discharged."

The great difficulty of the whole narrative in i. and ii. lies

¹ The insertion of "me" in A.V. and R.V. imparts an egoistic touch, which is wanting in the Greek.

² *i.e.*, with a view to obtain their approval, and secure unanimity, and avoid conflict with independent and inconsistent schemes, which might make my own work vain.

³ The present tense is to be taken as *present-continuous*.

⁴ I cannot agree with Lightfoot that *δοκούμετοι* "is depreciatory"; that does not lie in the Greek (in his examples the depreciatory sense comes from the context), and is diametrically opposed to my conception of Paul's lofty and punctiliously courteous tone towards the elder apostles (on which see below).

in its intermingling in the most subtle way argument with narrative. It is a narrative, but a narrative given because of its bearing on the question at issue in the Galatian churches. Paul's point lies in this, that to prove his case and to establish his position, all that is necessary is to recount the facts in their true character and sequence. His case is that he is the Apostle charged by God to the Gentiles, and accepted as such by the elder apostles. He brings this out in his narrative by a very subtle device, viz., he distinguishes carefully between those actions which belonged to a definite point in the series of past events (*aorist*), those actions which continued for a period but are not thought of as continuing at the moment of writing (*imperfect*), and those actions which are marked as permanent and true down to the moment of writing (*present*). This distinction is well brought out in i. 15: "And when it seemed fit (*aorist*) to God, who set me apart from my birth and called me through His grace (*aorists*) to reveal His Son in me (*aorist*), so that I preach Him (*present*) among the Gentiles." When the due moment arrived, God revealed His will to Paul and called him. These are definite acts which produced certain lasting consequences, but were themselves momentary. But the purpose and the result of the call was that Paul became, and continued until the moment of writing to be, the preacher among the Gentiles. Again in i. 22, "I continued unknown (*imperfect*) by face to the churches of Judea" (this is not said to be true at the time of writing, though it lasted for many years); "and they continued to hear reports (*imperfect*) that 'our persecutor'¹ is now preaching (*present*) the gospel which formerly he was attempting to destroy' (*imperfect*), and they continually expressed their (*imperfect*) admiration of God's

¹ The participle διώκων permits no inference; present and imperfect coincide in the participle. The only distinction in the participle is between aorist ii. 1, 7, 9, and present-imperfect.

action in my case." Such was their conduct for a number of years: the writer does not indicate that they continue now to do so (partly, such reports were no longer needed, and his conduct was no longer a cause of wonder and special recognition, partly, many in the Judæan churches were now opposed to him, and would no longer praise or admire what he was doing for the Church).

When we apply this principle to the hard passage ii. 1-10, several of the difficulties disappear, and some misconceptions are cleared away.

A special contrast is indicated between a *present* and an *aorist* in the following cases:—

v. 2, "I submitted to them (*aorist*) the gospel which I continue preaching to the present day among the Gentiles (*present*)."

v. 2, "To prevent the work of my whole life (*present*), or my work then (*aorist*), from being ineffectual."

v. 10, "Only (they instructed me) to remember permanently (*present*) the poor, which I then made it my object to do (*aorist*)."

A difficult contrast between *present* and *imperfect* occurs in v. 6: "it matters not in my estimation (now or then, or at any time, *present*) by what conduct and character they were marked out before the world for their dignified and influential position (*imperfect*)."

The necessity for the *imperfect* here becomes clearer if we substitute the *present*, and observe that the change gives an inadmissible sense. "What their permanent character is matters not to me" (*ὅποιοί ποτε εἰσὶν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει*) would be a sentiment unsuitable to the argument, and hardly becoming in Paul's mouth. The sense of what he says is, "I grant that their conduct had been noble and their prominent position was deserved, but God, who respects not persons, had chosen to communicate directly

with me and through me to the Gentiles ; and I could not put myself under their directions."

Still more clear does the necessity for the imperfect become if we take the sense preferred by Lightfoot: he says, "it does not mean 'what reputation they enjoyed,' but 'what was their position, what were their advantages, *in former times*, referring to their personal intercourse with the Lord."

The many aorists of this passage are clear: each of them denotes an act in the drama, which is described. They need no elucidation or comment except the following in v. 5: "we resisted them then that the truth of the Gospel might continue for you" (*aorist*). Here it may seem that the aorist expresses an action that continues to the moment of writing. That, however, is not so: the action belonged to the moment, though its result lasts down to the time of writing; and this becomes clear if we put the proposition in another form, "we resisted them then that the truth might not by our compliance be interrupted and prevented from continuing for you." The *aorist* is required to express "might not be interrupted," and it is therefore required to express "might continue."

Now we may give a paraphrase of the passage, expanding the concise language a little and introducing the parenthetic additions.

"Then in the fourteenth year *after it pleased God to call me*, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus also as companion. Now *I may explain that I went up on account of a revelation (which shows how completely my action was guided directly by the Divine will, and how independent it was of any orders or instructions from the apostles)*. And I communicated to them with a view to consultation the gospel which I continue preaching among the Gentiles; but I did so privately to those who were recognised as the leading spirits, *not publicly to the whole*

body of the apostles ; since the latter course would have had the appearance of consulting the official governing body, as if I felt it a duty to seek advice from them, whereas private consultation was a purely voluntary act. My purpose in this consultation was to carry with me the leading spirits of the Church, since misunderstanding or want of complete approval on their part might endanger or frustrate my evangelistic work whether in the future or the past, if doubt or dispute arose as to the rights of my converts to full membership in the Church without further ceremony. Now, as I have touched on this point, I may mention parenthetically that not even was my companion Titus, Greek as he was, required to submit to circumcision, much less was the general principle laid down that the Jewish rite was a necessary preliminary to the full membership of the Church. Further, the occasion of my consulting the leading Apostles was because of certain insinuating sham brethren, who crept into our society in an unavowed way to act the spy on our freedom (which we free Christians have been enjoying throughout my ministry), in order to make us slaves to the ritual which they count necessary. But not for an hour did we yield to these false brethren by complying with their ideas, or expressing agreement with them ; and our firmness then was intended to secure that the gospel in its true form should continue in lasting freedom for you to enjoy. But from the recognised leaders—how distinguished soever was their character matters not to me ; God accepteth not man's person—the recognised leaders, I say, imparted no new instruction to me ; but, on the contrary, perceiving that I throughout my ministry am charged specially with the mission to foreign (non-Jewish) nations as Peter is with the Jewish mission—for he that worked for Peter to the apostolate of the circumcision worked also for me to be the missionary to the Gentiles—and perceiving from the actual facts the grace that had

been given me, they, James and Cephas and John, the recognised pillars of the Church, gave pledges to me and to Barnabas of a joint scheme of work, ours to be directed to the Gentiles, while theirs was to the Jews. One charge alone they gave us, to remember the poor brethren at Jerusalem, a duty which as a matter of fact I bestirred myself to perform then."

It is apparent that in the passage as thus punctuated and translated, all the few slight points of resemblance to the narrative of *Acts xv.* have disappeared. The same persons are mentioned, but the actions are quite different. The question between the Judaizing party and the Pauline party is never formally raised here, whereas it was the whole reason for the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem in *Acts xv.*, when a council of the apostles and elders was the marked feature of the proceedings. This visit then belongs to a period before the question had actually come to the front; it was already imminent, but was not yet actually the subject of contention. The apostles therefore were not called on at that time to give any public decision; and privately, in communication with Paul, they recognised fully his deserts and his call, and approved his method.

The concluding sentence is in some respects the most remarkable and interesting in this passage, containing the only positive charge given to Paul by the elder apostles. The *aorist* (ἐπορεύσασα ποιῆσαι) prevents us from understanding (as Lightfoot does) that Paul's "subsequent zeal in the same cause was the answer to their appeal." If Paul had here been referring to his permanent conduct and feeling or to something which he is carrying into effect at the time of writing, he would, according to the rule of tenses in this passage, have used the *present* tense; but, since he uses the *aorist*, he must be referring to "an act in the drama which then occurred." On the visit in question,

therefore, Paul made it a special object to aid¹ the poor brethren in Jerusalem. We find then that on the second visit of the Galatian Epistle Paul was busied in the duty which is stated in *Acts* xi., xii. to have been the primary object of his second journey. Thus the two accounts of the journey are found to be in the most singular agreement, which may be expressed thus: the second journey in *Epist. Gal.* is said to have been made "according to revelation," and in *Acts* the exact circumstances of the revelation are narrated; the object of the second visit is defined in *Acts* as being to relieve the distress of the poor brethren in Jerusalem, and in *Epist. Gal.* Paul says he directed his attention specially to helping the poor brethren; another purpose is said in *Epist. Gal.* to have been achieved on this second journey, v. 3, but Paul immediately adds that this other purpose was carried out as a mere private piece of business, and implies thereby that it was not the primary or official purpose of the journey.²

How graceful and delicate is the compliment which the older apostles paid to Paul! "the only advice which we have to give is that you make it your rule (*present*) to do what you have been zealously doing," so they spoke at the conclusion of his visit! And in what a gentlemanly spirit does Paul refer to that visit. His object is to prove to the Galatians that, on his visits to Jerusalem, he received nothing in the way of instruction or commission from the older apostles; and to do this he gives an account of his visits. When he comes to the second visit he might have said in the tone of downright and rather coarse candour, "So far from receiving on this occasion, I was sent by Divine revelation to be the giver." But not even in this hot

¹ ἐσπούδασα ποιῆσαι here as σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος (*Eph.* iv. 3), "making it a special object to maintain the unity of the Spirit."

² The analogy of *Eph.* iv. 3, quoted above, might be alleged as a proof that ἐσπούδασα in *Gal.* ii. 10, defines the principal object of the visit.

and hasty letter does he swerve from his tone of respect and admiration, or assume in the slightest degree a tone of superiority to Peter and James. The facts are all there to show the real situation; but they are put so quietly and allusively (the revelation in *v.* 2, the object in *v.* 10), as to avoid all appearance of boasting in what was really a very legitimate cause of satisfaction, and even of self-gratulation. It is precisely because on his second visit Paul was so obviously not the recipient that he appeals to it with such perfect confidence as proving his independence. On the other hand no one can read over *Acts* xv. and say that a champion of Paul's independence would appeal to it as an argument in his favour; and the opinion that Paul appealed to that visit as proving his independence, and gave its history without ever alluding to the object of the visit and to the Council in which the older apostles acted as judges and decided in his favour, seems in my judgment to attribute to him a remarkable power of hiding the facts that might tell against him. He appeals to God in the most solemn manner that he is telling the truth in this narrative, *Gal.* i. 20.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that, on the North-Galatian theory, it has been practically necessary to assume that the author of *Acts* was not acquainted with Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.¹ For those who hold that the author was the intimate friend, disciple, and medical attendant in the closest personal relations with Paul for many years, it is of course hard to believe that he did not know that Epistle,—still harder when we consider that he was making his teacher the hero of a historical work. It will hereafter be recognised as one of the greatest gains from the South-Galatian theory that it recognises in *Acts* a work

¹ The Tübingen scholars stand almost alone in maintaining that the author of *Acts* was acquainted with the Epistle to the Galatians; but they draw from the apparent discrepancies the conclusion that he garbled the facts for the purpose of producing a false impression.

written to explain, to supplement, and to render more thoroughly intelligible, the epistles, and that it succeeds in doing so. In this case it is obvious that *Acts* xi. 27-30 makes *Gal.* ii. 1-10 clearer and more significant; but no one has ever ventured to maintain that *Acts* xv. makes Paul's argument more intelligible, and the utmost that Lightfoot aims at is to show that there is no absolute contradiction between them.

One difficulty in the correspondence between *Acts* xi., xii. and *Galatians* ii. 1-10, will at once occur to every reader. In *Acts* nothing is said as to any companion of Barnabas and Paul, whereas Titus is said in *Epist. Gal.* to have accompanied them. But in the latter place Titus is only mentioned incidentally, and is expressly said to have been an unofficial companion, not sent by the Church, but merely taken by Paul with him;¹ while in *Acts* we are told only what was done officially by the church of Antioch. In fact, the narrative of *Acts* never describes the visit; it merely tells the arrangements made in Antioch for collecting a contribution and despatching the proceeds to Jerusalem, and that the collection took place² and was sent up in charge of two official representatives. There is, therefore, no opportunity for mentioning Titus in *Acts* xi. 27-30. At the next reference to Paul and Barnabas, xii. 25, we find them in Jerusalem, ready to start for Antioch

¹ In the same way John Mark accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their missionary journey to Cyprus, xiii. 5, but was not selected by the Spirit or sent forth by the Church as one of the official envoys, and is, therefore, only mentioned incidentally. The same term is used in *Acts* xii. 25 to describe the private act of taking John Mark as a companion, and in *Galatians* ii. 1 to describe the act of taking Titus as companion.

² The collection would, of course, require some considerable time, as we see from the better known case in later history, when the churches in Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, and Galatia joined in a similar contribution for the poor central church. Moreover, nobody will suppose that the aid was sent till it was needed, and in *Acts* xi. 27 the famine is still a future event known only by revelation and prophecy. It occurred in A.D. 46, as is clearly stated by Josephus, not in 44, as is often assumed. The distribution of relief was made by Paul and Barnabas personally, xii. 25.

after completing the administration of the fund. On this occasion they take with them back to Antioch a companion whom they found in Jerusalem, viz., John Mark; but it is obvious that he is here mentioned solely to give the reader information which he requires to be able to understand xiii. 5.

With regard to Titus, an interesting and important question may be suggested, which is equally hard for the North-Galatian and the South-Galatian theorists to answer. Why is Titus never mentioned in *Acts*? There are two persons who played highly important parts in the drama described in *Acts*, and yet are never mentioned in that book, Titus and Luke; and, on my conception of the author's historical insight and power of selecting and grouping details, the silence must be intentional. In Luke's case the reason is too obvious to need statement; but what is the reason in Titus's case? He that answers that question (which I confess to have found insoluble) will throw a wide-reaching light on the history of the time. The suggestion which has been made on 2 *Corinthians* viii. 18, that the two delegates there mentioned (who were in all probability Luke and Titus) were brothers, would give a satisfactory reason; but it seems difficult on other grounds to accept the suggestion.

II. Paul says to the Galatians (i. 6-7): *θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο· εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέφαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. In the Revised Version this is rendered, "I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from Him that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different gospel: which is not another (*gospel*); only there are some that trouble you and would pervert the gospel of Christ."¹ This seems to me to be a false translation, being founded

¹ Westcott and Hort read *Χριστοῦ* as a common noun here, "the gospel of the anointed one."

on a mistaken idea of the meaning of the Greek words ἄλλος and ἕτερος when contrasted with one another. It is obvious that the force depends on the pointed antithesis of ἕτερος and ἄλλος: the Galatians have gone over to a gospel which is ἕτερον but not ἄλλο.¹

On these two words Lightfoot remarks, "ἕτερον involves a difference of kind which is not involved in ἄλλο." This appears to me an absolutely incorrect distinction. It is unnecessary to quote the rest of his remarks, in which he devotes himself to proving (what no one is likely to deny) that ἄλλος can be used in the sense of "another example of a class," and that ἕτερος can be used to imply difference.² But the point is this,—when ἕτερος and ἄλλος are pointedly contrasted, which of the two indicates the greater amount of difference? I think that ἕτερος indicates the difference between *species* of the same *genus*, ἄλλος the difference between two *genera*; and ἄλλος therefore indicates a much broader difference than ἕτερος.³ It is difficult to find examples in point; but my friend Mr. R. A. Neil supplies me with an excellent instance from Thucydides ii. 40, 2-3, where ἐτέροις indicates those Athenians that belong to the industrial class (as distinguished from the military or statesman class), while ἄλλοις denotes all other nations as distinguished from the Athenians. Another example may

¹ At present I am assuming that the construction preferred by the Revisers and by Lightfoot is right: the different construction, given by the American Revisers in the margin, is noticed at the end of the paper (it requires a milder punctuation, or none at all, at ἄλλο).

² These usages, though quite good, are not the original and fundamental senses. Lightfoot quotes 2 Corinthians xi. 4, to show the difference between ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν and ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον or ἕτερον πνεῦμα, but if the words are not mere synonyms in that place, I should say that "another Jesus" is more pointedly and absolutely "a different and false Jesus," while "another gospel" is not necessarily a false gospel (see below).

³ I have talked to several excellent scholars, who all said that they did not remember a passage that was decisive, but their impression as to the natural difference between ἄλλος and ἕτερος was like what I stated. Recently, Mr. Neil has sent me the reference to Thucydides. I do not quote any names, as the opinions were merely given in conversation.

be taken from the technical term *ἐτερόπλους*, denoting an insurance effected on a vessel for the outward, but not for the return voyage: if *ἀλλόπλους* were used, it could only mean "sailing on a different course, or in a different direction."¹

If we keep the exact construction preferred by Lightfoot and followed in the Revised Version, the sense of Paul's words to the Galatians would be, "I marvel that you are so soon going over to another gospel, which is not different (*from mine*), except in so far as certain persons pervert the gospel of the anointed One." In other words, "I marvel that you are going from the gospel as announced by me to the gospel as announced by the older apostles, not that it is really different from mine, except in so far as it is distorted by the emissaries who are troubling you." Now that appears to be precisely Paul's position. The gospel, as preached by him, was a *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον* from the gospel as preached by the older apostles, but there was no real difference between these two members of the same class. Peter and James agreed with him on every important or critical point. But there were many Jews who came as emissaries from the church in Jerusalem, and yet preached a totally different gospel.² These are condemned in the strongest terms as distorting and perverting the gospel.

¹ Many examples might be given to show that in *ἄλλος* there lies originally the sense of difference, and not in *ἕτερος*, though they often become almost equivalent. In *Iliad*, xiii. 64, a falcon pursues *ὄρνεον ἄλλο*, a bird of a different kind (where *τὸ ἕτερον* would mean the bird's mate). Compare *Iliad*, xxi. 22, where the fish of other species (*ἄλλοι*) are terrified and chased by the dolphin. Again *ἄλλος* frequently means hostile or unfortunate or unsuitable, *i.e.* different from what is desired or intended. But this seems so familiar that it need not be insisted on: the very derivation makes it clear, for *ἕτερος* is a comparative degree of the pronominal stem meaning "one" or "same," while *ἄλλος* is connected with words which bear the sense of "other" or "different" in many languages, *e.g.*, *else* in English, *alius* in Latin (*e.g.* *aliud sentit ille, aliud ego sentio*, means "his opinion is quite different from mine"). I can only suppose that Lightfoot's fundamental misconception as to the Galatian churches biassed, in this case, his usually fine and delicate sense of language.

² For example, those who had come from the apostles in Jerusalem, *Ac's* xv. 1, 24, *Gal.* ii. 12, and troubled the church in Antioch.

But a simpler and thoroughly Greek rendering is that which the American Revision Committee add in the margin, "unto a different gospel which is nothing else save that there are some that . . . would pervert the gospel of Christ:"¹ in other words, "another gospel, which is merely a perversion of the gospel." This avoids the unusual and perhaps precarious emphasis on the contrast between ἄλλος and ἕτερος, and would certainly be preferable in a classical Greek writer. It also gives a sense which is quite Pauline; and probably most scholars will prefer it. I confess, however, that the harsh and strained use of the words on the other interpretation, and the close packed meaning that is forced into the words, almost beyond what they can bear, seems to me—so far as I may judge—more characteristic of Paul's style; and I incline towards it, unless the verdict of scholars be that it strains the sense of the words too far. In that event, the interpretation of the American Revisers would be the only possible one.

W. M. RAMSAY.

JEREMIAH: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

IV. DEGENERATION.

THE average man in every age is tolerably content with the world as he finds it and looks upon the institutions and customs by which he is surrounded as belonging to an order of things which has always existed and never can be materially changed. But there are exceptional individuals who, either through fuller information or on account of a gift of nature, carry in their minds an ideal image of what human life ought to be, with which they are continually contrasting, to their disadvantage, existing conditions and

¹ Dr. Thayer, of Harvard, told me that he had always urged this to be the correct translation. It, of course, implies a slighter punctuation after ἄλλο.

arrangements. In some this sense of contrast grows so hot that they are forced to speak out, and in speech or writing they expose the deficiencies and the excesses of the times in which they live. From our own literature many examples of this might be cited. In his *Latter-day Pamphlets* and other writings Carlyle scourged the low ideals of the age and the neglect of the poor, while in a different vein Thackeray exposed the lovelessness of the marriage market, the pretensions of upstarts, and the shams of society. In the ancient world Roman literature was especially fertile in productions of this type, Horace and Juvenal being the immortal masters of satire. The latter has given to the world a detailed picture of the moral condition of imperial Rome, in which every vice is depicted with remorseless truthfulness and the rotten condition of society fully exposed. Horace touches the same theme with a lighter pen, ridiculing the folly rather than condemning the guilt of his age. In modern times the majority of satiric writers have adopted this less obnoxious way of delivering an earnest message, and they have made use of every artistic device to insinuate the truth. Some, like Swift, have got their generation to laugh at its own vices by representing these as the manners and customs of an imaginary world, while others, like Goethe in *Reinecke Fuchs*, have exposed human selfishness under the form of the behaviour to one another of different members of the animal world.

The writings of the Hebrew prophets are largely composed of complaints against the degeneration and the vices of the times. Especially is this the case with Jeremiah, whose book is filled with little else from beginning to end. But the prophets rarely resort to the literary devices of the satirists of other nations. Their purpose is too earnest to allow them to tickle selfishness and pretence on their ridiculous side. They look upon the practices against

which they speak not as weaknesses to be laughed at, but as sins to be punished. It is true that all through the Old Testament sin is spoken of as folly; but this seldom leads to a humorous way of treating it. Perhaps the Jewish genius was deficient in wit and humour, although in Heine and others in modern times the Hebrew race has exhibited these qualities in ample measure. But the real explanation is that just given: it was the solemnity of their divine call and the consciousness of speaking as the organs of inspiration that kept them forever in the serious mood.

Jeremiah especially has hardly a gleam of humour. In one passage, indeed, when speaking of idols, he allows himself a laugh at the fact that the idol worshipper lights his fire with the fragments of the same log of wood out of which he has fashioned his god; but this mood only lasts for a moment, and even in this case he does not allow himself the broad and ringing laughter which the same thought brings again and again from Isaiah. There is a more than Puritanic moroseness about Jeremiah; he reiterates the same charges again and again with wearisome uniformity of expression; the language of denunciation has become so familiar to him that it lacks the edge and distinctness found in some of the other prophets. Still the outstanding features of the time are depicted in his pages with terrible realism, and, when we have learned what they are, we do not wonder at the depression which weighs down the prophet's pen or at the monotony of colour with which he has sketched the condition of his country.

The sin to which Jeremiah most frequently refers, and which he obviously regards as the origin and fountain of all the rest is Idolatry.

In Jeremiah's youth the good king Josiah had extirpated the false gods and, in accordance with the provisions of the book of the law found in the Temple by Hilkiah, restricted

the offering of sacrifices to Jerusalem. But very soon, under the worthless kings who followed, the entire evil system came back again. Jeremiah says that according to the number of the cities of Judah were its gods, and according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem were the altars erected to Baal. We hear of many of the worst excesses introduced by Manasseh being again in vogue, such as the exercise of other cults in the Temple itself and the burning of children to Moloch in the Valley of Hinnom. In the last scene preserved to us from Jeremiah's life we obtain a vivid glimpse of the devotion of the people at large to these forbidden forms of worship and the strength of the habits against which the prophet had to contend. The remnant of the people left in the land by their Babylonian conquerors had fled to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them; but even there, in spite of the divine discipline through which they had passed, they were still, perhaps behind the prophet's back, indulging in their idolatrous customs. We see him, when he has perhaps surprised them in one of their orgies. He rises up, like a new Elijah, to reproach them; but the women present turn upon him, describing with obvious relish their worship of the Queen of Heaven and boasting that in serving her they had been far happier and more prosperous than when serving Jehovah. This gay worship was, they said, in accordance with the customs of their fathers and of the kings and princes of their native land; and they told the prophet to his face that they would not obey his voice. There could have been no worse sign of the depth of the evil than this fanaticism and effrontery on the part of the female sex.¹

These foreign cults seem to have been accompanied with forms of ritual, such as incense, processions, holidays and the like, which were showy and diverting; and in contrast

¹ Ch. xliv.

with these the worship of Jehovah appeared monotonous and austere. But there was a still more dangerous fascination. In imitation of Hosea, Jeremiah very frequently characterises idolatry as adultery, the nation being represented as a faithless wife who has left her husband Jehovah and sought in the idols other lovers. This is a perilous figure of speech, and the prophet follows it out to lengths which to our modern minds are in the last degree repulsive. But he had too good reason for the use of such language. The worship of the idols was associated with sensual excesses which to us are now inconceivable. The most revolting acts were not only permitted but made a part of religion, and the idol shrines were styres of impurity. Herein lies the true explanation of the constant lapses of the nation from the worship of Jehovah, which to the unsophisticated reader of the Bible are so perplexing. These were not intellectual aberrations, but victories of passion. When idolatry was in full swing, the atmosphere was reeking with unholy suggestion; and a public speaker who wished to make an impression naturally fell into a rudeness and even grossness of imagery which is happily alien to the religious vocabulary of our time.¹

There is no truer maxim than "Like God like worshipper." A nation cannot in its own character rise above the being to whom it looks up as the ideal of greatness and goodness. It may be possible to believe in a holy God and yet live in unholiness; but it is not possible to worship Baal and the Queen of Heaven and yet remain pure and good. Therefore Jeremiah was justified in placing the worship of such deities in the forefront of his attack on contemporary morals and treating the condition of his

¹ Compare the remark of Duhm (*Theologie der Propheten*) that the spirituality of Jeremiah's book is lowered by the plainness with which he has to speak to degraded people; they would not have understood had he spoken the native language of a sanctified heart.

countrymen as hopeless as long as they failed to apply their minds to know the true God.

The second main article in the prophet's arraignment of his times is that his countrymen not only were in ignorance of the true God but rejected the light.

There is a modern theory of the history of Israel which represents the monotheistic faith as having been slowly evolved from a gross mode of belief common to all the families of the Semitic race. For generations even in Canaan Israel's view of Jehovah was scarcely different from Moab's of Chemosh or Ammon's of Moloch. This, however, is not Jeremiah's conception of the history of his country. He contends, indeed, that from the very time of entering Canaan Israel had gone astray after gross forms of worship; but these had from the first been lapses from better knowledge. Away behind the centuries of back-sliding there had been a great blaze of revelation; and age after age God had never ceased to raise up prophets to reiterate the ancient truth in the ears of the people. Again and again Jeremiah employs a standing phrase for this: "Jehovah," he says, "sent His servants the prophets, rising up early and sending them." It is as if every new generation, or every new century, were conceived of as a new day dawning, and at the beginning of every such period Jehovah sent a messenger to guide His people in the right path. And, besides these living messengers, there were the messages of the written page; for Jeremiah speaks again and again of the law as a means of instruction accessible to the people during the generations of their history.

Thus God kept on speaking; but they would not hear. This is Jeremiah's continual complaint; and in his own person he experienced to the full the hostility which the bringing of light excited. His countrymen hated, im-

prisoned, perhaps at last killed him, because he told them the truth. It is the same complaint that Jesus was forever making: "Ye will not come unto Me, that ye might have life"; "Woe unto thee, Bethsaida, woe unto thee, Chorazin"; "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."

Worse, however, far than the rejection of the truth by the multitude was the perversion of it by the false prophets, against whom Jeremiah discharges his keenest arrows. Ever and anon we see him in collision with them—with men like Hananiah, Ahab, Zedekiah and Shem-iah. They appear to have been numerous, and they were popular. While Jeremiah was rejected by his countrymen, these men, who contradicted his weightiest announcements, were accepted as the genuine oracles of truth. This is a fact which may well awaken the gravest reflections. Jeremiah's standing complaint against them is that they healed the wound slightly, saying, "Peace, peace," when there was no peace. That is to say, they were shallow—shallow especially in their views of sin and its consequences. They could not believe that a merciful God could do anything severe. They lived on the popular breath, and they dared not utter a word which would give offence. In every age this has been the badge of all the tribe.

The third leading feature of Jeremiah's indictment is Injustice.

In our day there are those who contend that morality does not need the support of religion—that men and women may be pure, truthful and unselfish, without any sense of responsibility to the God of purity, truth and love. It is probable, however, that they greatly underrate the strength of human passion. Self is a tremendously strong motive in the average man; and even in the most refined there

slumber passions before which, when opportunity has thoroughly released them, fine-spun theories are no more than flax before the flame. At all events, in Jeremiah's day the lack of religion proved extremely detrimental to morality, and the corruption of religion entailed as a consequence the corruption of morals. Men who had no intercourse with a holy God or regard for His authority, and who addicted themselves to cults in which the principal motive was pleasure, became hardened and coarsened. He who himself lives for pleasure has seldom much regard for the comfort and pleasure of others; and, if his neighbour stands between him and his desires, he ruthlessly pushes him aside. Jeremiah describes a state of society in which there is no charity or ruth; everyone seeks to overreach his neighbour, and no man can trust another's word—a society deeply stained with murder, oppression and violence.

One specimen may be given. When the invading army was before the walls of Jerusalem, the king, the nobles and the wealthy agreed to manumit their slaves of Hebrew birth. This may have been in obedience to a summons from Jeremiah, or it may have been for military reasons; but at least it was in propitiation for a transgression of which they were sensible. The law ordained that a Hebrew or Hebrewess could not be held in bondage more than six years, but must be set free the seventh year. This law had been allowed to fall into desuetude, and the wealthy were keeping their own flesh and blood in perpetual bondage. The resolution to enfranchise was taken with great solemnity: there was a meeting in the temple, with the king at the head of his people; in accordance with an ancient custom an animal was slaughtered, and those who were entering into the agreement or "covenant," as they called it, passed between the pieces of the divided carcase, the meaning of this symbolic action being,

"Such be the fate of him who breaks this covenant." Yet when, soon after, through the departure of the Babylonian army to meet an Egyptian force which had appeared on the southern border, the danger seemed to be at an end, they recalled their action and reasserted their rights over their servants. Anything more cynically defiant of both the honour due to God and the rights of man it would be impossible to conceive; and Jeremiah indignantly spoke out his mind about it, declaring that those who would not allow their brethren to be delivered were themselves delivered over to sword, famine and pestilence.¹

Thus in the mind and conduct of the prophet religion and morality were united. His zeal for God made him zealous for the rights of man, and he stood forth as the champion of the weak and oppressed. On another occasion he went even further, denouncing the king himself personally for employing labour in the building of his palace without giving proper remuneration.²

With what scorn would such a prophet have regarded the rule sometimes imposed on ministers to preach the gospel but let practical questions alone. There is nothing so damaging to religion as the spectacle of men and women who in the church and on Sabbath can engage devoutly in the exercises of worship, but on Monday and in business are regardless of justice and mercy; it is this which makes religion stink in the nostrils of the young and the honest. And shall teachers of religion consent to have their mouths shut on such inconsistencies? It is true that teachers of religion are not always wise; they sometimes speak about practical affairs without understanding them. It is true, also, that it is more their business to enforce the general principles of righteousness than to enlarge on their detailed application. But no minister worthy to stand in the succession of prophets and apostles will surrender the right to

¹ Ch. xxxiv.

² xx. 13 ff.

hit straight out at any practice which is obviously unjust to men and subversive of the kingdom of God. If he does, he places himself in the succession of the false prophets, who thought first of their own comfort and reputation and never said anything which would compromise their popularity.

It will be observed that the sins denounced by Jeremiah are, for the most part, those of the influential classes—as of the master against the slave, or the rich against the poor. He is continually referring with asperity to such public figures as kings, princes, priests, prophets; but of the mass of the people he speaks with compassion as of those misled by their natural leaders rather than deserving of severe censure.

This hangs together with the habit, alluded to in a former paper, of looking at the nation, and not the individual, as the unit. The prophetic message was addressed to the people as a whole. Therefore the officials, who had the making and the administration of the laws, and the influential classes, who set the fashions, attracted the attention of the prophets, who regarded them as responsible for the conduct of the common people.

This point of view has its eternal truth. Indeed, it is a truth which the Church is at the present moment recovering after long neglect. But it is one of the chief merits of Jeremiah that he advanced a little beyond this point of view, which was that of his order and his age. He saw that the national idea might be carried too far. He heard men urging in defence of their sins the plea that they were committed to evil by the providential position in which they were placed: they were heirs of an inevitable system and victims of circumstances. But he would not allow this; he held that evil springs out of the heart's own love of it—"the heart is deceitful above all things and desper-

ately wicked"—and that every man is responsible for his own sin only.¹

He was not able, however, to advance far in this direction. His great successor, Ezekiel, advanced much further, recognising not only that the seat of evil is in the individual heart, but that the hope of righteousness lies in a change of heart—that the only cure for degeneration is regeneration. It is only, however, in the New Testament that we find the perfect balance of both sides of the truth. In the teaching of Jesus the individual is always the *prius*; he stands apart from all and transacts directly with God; a single soul is more precious than the whole world; and there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth. Yet religion, though it begins, does not end here. Christians are members one of another; together they form one body; and the founding of the kingdom of God, by the regeneration of society, is the common task of the Christian society.

JAMES STALKER.

HORT'S LECTURES ON "JUDAISTIC CHRISTIANITY."²

It is not too much to say that, from Eusebius to Neander, Church historians, generally, treated "Judaistic Christianity" as a topic which scarcely demanded notice. It was enough to know that the "Fathers" regarded this phase of Christian development as heretical. It was no part of the original inheritance, but a pretentious and troublesome intrusion into it.

Neander, and his pupil F. C. Baur, however, brought this despised section of original Christendom into notable

¹ *xxxi.* 29, 30.

² *Judaistic Christianity*, a course of Lectures by the late F. J. A. Hort, D.D. London: Macmillan, 1894.

prominence. The latter made this stone which the builders had rejected the head-stone of the corner. His hypothesis failed, first, because it was placed in subservience to an *a priori* philosophical system. The Hegelian thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis were to explain everything. But, secondly, when the Tübingen scheme reduced the books of the New Testament to the level of second-century forgeries, it forfeited credibility. Considering that the theory of Baur and Schweigler—especially in its details—has been so completely refuted by later critics, it is remarkable that its effects should have been so wide and extensive.

The change of attitude towards the long-observed elements in primitive church history, to which we refer, has been much more conspicuously recognised abroad than in our own country. R. Rothe, in his celebrated *Anfänge*, felt himself required to account for the phenomena of Jewish Christianity. Every one knows how closely M. Renan followed the Tübingen School. But the most important contribution to the whole subject—as Dr. Hort allowed—is that which A. Ritschl made in his *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*. In his second edition (1857) Ritschl revoked some important opinions advanced in the earlier publication of the book, and clearly revealed the innate weakness of the original scheme of Baur and Schweigler. But he also brought into clear light the reality of that great division in the Primitive Church. Ritschl's investigations have not been without effect upon the later representatives of the Tübingen School—as Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker and Pfleiderer—who have produced the theory with various modifications. Dr. Hort notices also the dependence of the late Bishop Lightfoot on Ritschl, to whom Bishop Westcott and other English writers have, in their turn, been indebted.

Notwithstanding its importance and interest, however, the history of the first age of the Church has not attracted

much original enquiry amongst ourselves. Dr. Hort had no English book to recommend to his students as their guide in its study except Lightfoot's *Essays*. They might read Lechler, Ewald, and Schürer, now translated, but Ritschl's standard work—as does Rothe's *Anfänge*—remains in the original German.¹

English readers are, therefore, greatly indebted to the literary executors of Dr. Hort for their publication of these Lectures. "These Lectures were not, I believe" (the Editor says), "primarily designed for publication, but they afforded a convenient opportunity for summarizing and bringing to a focus the results of a life-time devoted to the patient and single-minded consideration of these fundamental questions" (Pref.) A more formal treatise would, no doubt, have supplied more fully the evidence on which conclusions have been reached, and some points would have been more fully elaborated. The area traversed is very extensive, and all available information has been carefully considered: but to concentrate so much learning and argument, into the space of a volume of two hundred pages, is a feat which no genius less lucid and well-controlled than that of Dr. Hort could have accomplished.

We shall best serve the interests of our readers if we briefly indicate the judgment of Dr. Hort on the principal topics included in his survey of the subject, and afterwards refer, a little more at length, to certain matters on which the lecturer's verdict may be open to criticism.

I.

Dr. Hort begins with a study of "Christ and the Law." Our Lord did not direct His followers to leave Judaism:

¹ Dr. Hort's Editor, Mr. I. O. F. Murray, M.A., refers also to the recent translation of Weizsäcker's *Apostolische Zeitalter*, and of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*. He does not appear to be aware of any English book which discusses the subject of Dr. Hort's lectures.

He said that He had come to fulfil, and not to destroy the law. To "fulfil," however, was not to observe the letter, but to cultivate the spirit. "The Gospel calls not for less righteousness, but for more." The law "remained binding within its own limits, but it was to be filled out and deepened with a new spirit."

Turning next to the narrative of the "Acts," the lecturer remarks that the word *κοινωνία* (Acts ii. 42) is not to be joined with *τῶν ἀποστόλων*, as in the Revised Version. "It must be some outward expression of the new fellowship with the general body of the Christian believers, answering to the special relation to the apostles." Again, in Acts xi. 30, "*Hellenists*" is a better reading than "*Hellenes*," and it suits the facts, inasmuch as there is a solemn and more distinct reference to the occasion on which Paul "turned to the Gentiles." The incident at Antioch in Pisidia "is the true turning-point at which a Gentile Christianity formally and definitely begins, and so a Judaic Christianity becomes possible." Yet the *Hellenes* in the Syrian Antioch, if not precisely *Hellenists*, might yet be attendants at the synagogue.

The "decree" (Acts xv.), was not made up of the "seven commandments of the sons of Noah," nor were they "Levitical injunctions which the Pentateuch itself makes binding on strangers," or "concessions to the Judaic side." They were intended to guard against the uncleanness of idolatry, and to represent the feeling of mystery entertained with regard to blood. The forbidding of "things strangled" is not easy to explain. However, the decree was local in its effects, and was seldom referred to in the later history. In regard to the demand for circumcision, Dr. Hort remarks that Paul consented that Timothy should submit to the rite because he was already a Jew in all but that, and conformity would assist him in mission work. But Titus was not circumcised (Gal. ii. 3). Here Dr. Hort has

changed the view which he formerly held, viz., that Titus was circumcised, but not by compulsion.

In regard to "St. Paul and the Three," Dr. Hort holds that "what St. Paul rebuked (Gal. ii. 11) was not a doctrinal but a moral aberration of St. Peter; he was simply unfaithful to his own convictions." Since St. Paul continued to be on good terms with those in Jerusalem, it may be inferred that St. Peter and the rest considered him to be in the right. The attitude of St. James is not quite so clear. If he held that "a man must become a Jew in order to become a Christian . . . we should have evidence here of a fundamental difference between the leaders of the Apostolic Church"; but the New Testament does not go so far as this. Still, that "certain came from James" to Antioch suggests "some direct responsibility on his part." At any rate there was no hypocrisy with James, "though there might be retrogression." We shall return, however, to this critical point.

The lecturer passes over the schism at Corinth, but allows that those who called themselves "of Cephas" might have looked towards the Jerusalem apostles. When reviewing the circumstances connected with St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, Dr. Hort strangely fails to quote the important passage—"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of them which have believed; and they are all zealous for the law." We venture to think that if that statement of St. James had been fully considered, Dr. Hort could scarcely have spoken of the "duality within Christendom" as "temporary" (p. 83).

Dr. Hort thinks that in the commotion which led to St. Paul's arrest the Jewish Christians were excited by the unbelieving Jews. He says that the "offering" of St. Paul was "possibly in connection with a previous vow, possibly also, I cannot but suspect, in connection with the Gentile contribution to the Jewish Church." But one cannot easily

see how an offering in the temple should be an appropriate celebration of the Gentile generosity to Jewish Christians ; and v. 26—"Until the offering was offered for every one of them"—seems, necessarily, to connect the Apostle with the four men who had, like him, a vow.

The "philosophy" referred to in Colossians ii. 18 "is not a speculative theosophy lying outside of Jewish usages, but as embodying the plea put forward on their behalf." Dr. Hort modified the opinion he formerly held—with Lightfoot, Ritschl, and Rothe—that the Colossian heresy was due to Essene influences. There is no plain evidence of the prevalence of Essenism outside of Palestine, the "Therapeutæ" of Philo are a problem yet ; magic, so rife in Asia, was not specially practised by the Essenes ; and the fourth Sybilline book, which might have thrown some light on the subject, was possibly by a Hemero-Baptist. The Judaizing movement at Colosse was thoroughly legal and involved circumcision ; but had some new elements as angel-worship, and also some lower views of the personality of Christ.

The pastoral epistles also are from St. Paul, notwithstanding features "which legitimately provoke suspicion." The "Gnosis" (1 Tim. vi. 20) was not that of the second century, though its elements existed. As might be expected, Dr. Hort's discussion on the supposed formulæ of Gnosticism is worthy of careful study.

The Epistle of James belongs to the apostolic age, and was written by the head of the Church at Jerusalem. It replies to "a misuse or misunderstanding of St. Paul's teaching," and, therefore, was not an early composition. It was addressed to the Jews of the dispersion, and the Gentiles are simply left out of the account. But it is not safe to assume, he says (notwithstanding *συναγωγή*, ii. 2), that they formed distinct congregations from those of the Gentile Christians. Hegesippus may have borrowed his account of James from Ebionitic sources, in which (though, in general,

confirmed by Josephus) there are differences of date and detail which make it uncertain.

St. Peter, writing probably from Rome, gives a more universal teaching. He "writes as one whose commission is universal," and "all that Palestinian Christianity represented is out of sight." "There is no trace of transitional conditions." On the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews was intended for the Christians in Palestine. The writer does not speak of the spiritual fulfilment of the Mosaic law, but of its entire abrogation. Yet it is not clear that the Jews are asked to separate themselves from their unbelieving countrymen, though they are bidden to "accept the position without the camp." The Apocalypse also indicates the recognition of all Christians as belonging to the true Israel.

In this too brief review of the interpretations, given by Dr. Hort, of the critical moments in the history of the Apostolic Church, it may be seen that the points to be considered are numerous and debatable. Their solution will depend very much upon the standpoint of the enquirer. Dr. Hort's view of the general question undoubtedly is that although the Jewish Christians were temporarily separated from the Pauline churches, yet they were really one with them; and, at the end of the apostolic age, Peter and John addressed all believers as members of the same Church.

II.

We now turn to Dr. Hort's review of the history of the Church of Jerusalem after the destruction of the city. The chief witness is Hegesippus (in Eusebius), who seems to have derived his information from a lost Ebionite work, "The Steps of James." Hegesippus was not a Jewish Christian in the strict sense. One of his observations about "things which no eye can see" was not anti-Pauline, as the Tübingen writers affirmed, but was spoken against

Gnostics, who regularly used such phraseology. The Hebrew descent of Hegesippus is, says Dr. Hort, merely an inference by Eusebius; and, with Ritschl, Weizsäcker, and most recent authorities, he regards him as a Catholic Christian.

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 3), gives a list of fourteen bishops who came after James into the presidency of the Church of Jerusalem. This information he supplies from Hegesippus. But Eusebius, and most of the older authorities, assert that the Christians of Jerusalem retired from the city before its destruction, and fled to Pella beyond the Jordan. Did they remain there? If so, the "fourteen bishops" were really elected and stationed over the Church there, though it might still be known as the "Church of Jerusalem."

It is, however, generally assumed that the Jewish Christians returned from Pella, and though exposed to many dangers, re-established themselves among the ruins of the fallen city. Here the fourteen successors of James presided over a trembling flock until the revolt of Bar-Cocheba and the victory of Hadrian scattered both the shepherds and the sheep. From that time, A.D. 140, the Church at Jerusalem was chiefly Gentile, and had a Gentile bishop. Jewish Christianity of the apostolic type disappeared from the scene.

Dr. Hort, however, is of opinion that "sooner or later, a more or less complete return from Pella to Jerusalem must have taken place, unless Hegesippus' account of the death of Symeon and of later bishops is a fiction, which is most unlikely" (p. 177). But Eusebius does not mention this return, and we may therefore suppose that Hegesippus did not. All that the latter says of the Church and its bishops may have referred to its history in Pella. The only direct evidence which Dr. Hort adduces for this return is from Epiphanius (*De Mens. et Pond.*, xiv., xv.). The latter states that Aquila, the translator, was converted by the teaching

and miracles of Christians from Pella while he was residing in Jerusalem. But this account is not generally credited. Moreover, it is said that Aquila's translation was accepted by the Ebionites, and that circumstance places him outside the circle of such Jewish Christians as Dr. Hort supposes went to Pella. He says (p. 175) that the migration to Pella "would probably consist mainly of those who best represented the position formerly taken by St. James, and those whom the Epistle to the Hebrews had persuaded to loosen their hold on the ancient observances." It is not very likely that Christians of this class would have influenced the Jewish Aquila.

But Epiphanius also says that when Hadrian came to the city he found it levelled, with the exception of a few buildings, among which was "the upper room" in which the apostles first met. Even of this mythical structure, however, he only says that there was "a small church." Then elsewhere (*Haer.*, xxix., xxx.), he describes the Nazarenes and the Ebionites as dwelling in Coelo-Syria—"in Decapolis about Pella," for the disciples, after the overthrow of the city had "spent their time there" (*διέτριβον*). Thus Epiphanius contradicts himself, or, at most, only says that a "small church" of fugitives found shelter in the *débris* of the ruined city, while the majority remained in Pella and its vicinity. It is too much to suppose that the feeble congregation at Jerusalem, to which he refers, had fourteen bishops, if it existed at all.

But Rothe, Ritschl, Lechler, and Lightfoot do not refer to this supposed "return." The last two certainly imply that the Gentile Church of Ælia Capitolina was the natural and direct descendant of the Church of Jerusalem; but by doing this they confound two things which essentially differ. Neither do we find any help in another suggestion of Dr. Hort's. He says (p. 175) that "through an attack of Vespasian the country about Pella was taken, and the

Christian colony, which had already reached the place, was swept away, A.D. 68." But how then shall we account for the testimony of Epiphanius that the disciples dwelt there, and that the Nazarenes abounded there in after days? Who, in this case, was Aristo of Pella, whom Lightfoot and Hort delight to regard as a specimen of the reformed Jewish Church? Nay, who was Hegesippus himself?

But here we come upon a second and yet more important question: Did the Jewish Christians forsake Judaism? As we have seen, Dr. Hort replies in the affirmative. With Dr. Lightfoot, he thinks that this was one effect of the destruction of the city, and the entire subversion of the ritual of the temple. Yet, they are compelled to allow that the fourteen bishops after James were all of the "circumcision"—and that does not encourage the view that Judaism became of no account. To escape this difficulty Ritschl points to the time of Hadrian as the period when the great transition occurred. He has the authority of Sulpitius Severus (*Histor.*, c. 31) on his side, who says that then "the Church of Jerusalem had no presbyter except of the circumcision," and that Hadrian's exclusion of Jews "benefitted the Christian faith, because almost all then believed in Christ as God while continuing in the observance of the law." The actual significance and value of this testimony of Sulpitius has been much discussed; but, at any rate, it is clear that if the Jewish Christians did not forsake the "Law" until the times of Hadrian, it was not the destruction of the city under Vespasian, seventy years before, which produced the great change. Lechler was so impressed with the difficulties of the situation that he finally concluded that the change was *gradual*. The objection to this view is, that positive evidence of any change at all is entirely absent.

Aristo of Pella is generally referred to (Lightfoot, *Galat.*,

p. 152, etc.) as one who, while he held the Catholic doctrine, was yet a Jewish Christian. But too little is known of him to base any serious argument upon it. He had a Greek name, which was without Jewish associations, as in the case of Hegesippus. Bishop Lightfoot adduces also the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," which Ritschl once attributed to a Pauline Christian; but, subsequently, ascribed to an orthodox Jewish Christian. We observe that Dr. Hort omits all reference to this singular document. Recent criticism has disclosed so much interpolation in it, that it is now believed to have been a Jewish composition, which was manipulated for Christian purposes. Its withdrawal imparts a serious loss to the scheme respecting the Jewish Christians which Bishop Lightfoot propounded. At the same time we must not forget how very superior was the position taken by the learned and lamented bishop on this whole subject to that which had prevailed. It may be said that the scientific investigation into the history and constitution of the primitive Church was introduced in England by Dr. Lightfoot.

It is not difficult to understand why there should have been a strong desire to prove that the great schism in the apostolic Church was not permanent. Such a fact would reflect strangely upon the conception of unity which has been, and is by many still so largely held. It would also imply, as Ritschl says, that the "Catholic Church" began to treat as heretics those who followed most literally the example of the twelve apostles. But "facts are stubborn things," and Dr. Hort was too candid and truth-loving to reject them even when they threatened theories he sincerely cherished. Let us quote his own words:

"Till the voice of God was heard in quite other accents, a Palestinian Church could not but be more or less a Judaic Church. This temporary duality within Christendom is constantly overlooked or misunderstood: but, if we think a

little on the circumstances of the case, we must see that it was inevitable. Moreover, the dualism can never have been sharp and absolute, on account of the existence of the Diaspora. Little as we know in detail of the religious life of ordinary circumcised Jews of the Dispersion, it is plain that when they became Christians their manner of life must have been intermediate between that of Palestinian Christians and Gentile Christians " (p. 83).

Here we find Dr. Hort in full recognition of the "duality within Christendom," which extended from the first missionary journey of St. Paul until A.D. 70. But even this "duality" was itself double: for there was first the difference between the Jewish Christian and the Gentile believer in general; and secondly, there was the variety presented by the Diasporic Jewish Christians who were "intermediate" between the strict Jewish Christian and the free Gentile Christian. The genuine "unity" of the period was without doubt that of St. Paul's composite churches, where both Jew and Gentile met in one fellowship, rather than that of the Church of Jerusalem which received no Gentiles. But even this "unity" was "temporary." The Gentile element in the Pauline churches gained the ascendancy, and "Judaistic Christianity" was excluded from the Gentile churches of the second century. Instead of the "duality within Christendom" being only "temporary," we venture to think that it was an abiding condition so long as the Jewish Christians were regarded as anything but heretics. When Catholic unity was attained in the second century, the "dualism" which Peter and Paul had recognised was suppressed; and, as Justin, Ignatius, Aristides, and the Epistle to Diognetus show, the traffic with Judaism was considered to be schismatical if not heretical. By Irenæus and Origen, Jewish Christianity was known only as the system of the Ebionites, who were held to be heretical.

We may express the hope that Dr. Hort's "Judaistic Christianity" will stimulate many in England to a fresh study of the facts of apostolic and sub-apostolic history. The appeal to the "Primitive Church" will become much more real and decisive when we know more precisely what the actual conditions were. At the beginning of the inquiry no one can afford to slight the final words of the late Bishop of Durham, in his *Epistle to the Galatians* (p. 374): "However great may be the theological differences and religious animosities of our own time, they are far surpassed in magnitude by the destructions of an age which, closing our eyes to facts, we are apt to invest with an ideal excellence."

W. F. SLATER.

THE SPEECHES IN CHRONICLES.

A REPLY.

THE article upon "The Speeches in Chronicles," from the pen of Professor Driver, which appeared in the April number of the *EXPOSITOR*, demands from me some words of reply, (1) because he has misrepresented or misunderstood my meaning, and based most of his argument—indeed (p. 255) he challenges me upon—such misrepresentation; (2) because I venture to differ from some of his pronouncings upon the idiomatic character of certain speeches; (3) because I wish to refute the unworthy charge of *suppressio veri*. In so doing, I hope that I "may succeed, incidentally, in placing before students some facts that may interest them."

I. For the sake of clearness, let me put in parallel columns my own words and Dr. Driver's quotation from them.

LEX MOSAICA (p. 195).

"Those speeches which Dr. Driver has pronounced fictitious contain no more traces of exilic language than those whose genuineness is vouched for by parallels; indeed, some of those exilic words are omitted in LXX., especially הַבִּירָה, while otherwise the language is the same as in Samuel and Kings."

EXPOSITOR, April, 1895 (p. 253).

"Rev. Valpy French has the boldness to say (p. 195) that they (the speeches which Dr. Driver pronounces in 1 Chron. fictitious) 'contain no more traces of exilic [rather, *post-exilic*] language than those whose genuineness is vouched for by parallels in Samuel or Kings,' and that, with the exception of הַבִּירָה (above, on v. 1), 'the language is the same as in Samuel and Kings.'"

Dr. Driver interprets my term "otherwise" as excluding the single word הַבִּירָה, whereas it was, of course, intended to exclude the "traces of exilic language" spoken of two lines before. The misconception is the more remarkable, as I had previously expressed the very same thought on p. 165, in words which are quoted by Dr. Driver himself on p. 243, words which are the target for his critical arrows. But I have observed that not infrequently critics who know exactly what a Hebrew writer intended to say many centuries ago, misunderstand the plain English of to-day. How can I be supposed to maintain, as Dr. Driver would represent, that the language of the Chronicler is, with the exception of one word, the language of Samuel and Kings, when I had distinctly admitted (p. 165) the fact that the speeches, whether with or without a tally, equally exhibit the Chronicler's hand?

Dr. Driver politely complains that, wisely or unwisely, I abstained from examining the literary character of the Chronicler's speeches for which there is no tally, while I had done so to some extent in the vouched-for speeches. He regards this as a "singular omission" on my part. But, surely, the point of the argument did not demand such examination, even had space permitted. The point was—that genuine speeches can exhibit marks of lateness,

whether due to the hand of Chronicler or copyist, and that therefore no argument can be adduced for the spuriousness of the unvouched-for speeches on the ground of similar or any other indications of lateness.

For instance, in the question before us—whether a speech put into the mouth of King David be genuine or not—it can make no difference whether the language of the recorded speech be exilic or *post-exilic*; in neither case can the record be precisely the original form. Chaucer could not anticipate the diction of either Shakespeare or Browning. In employing the term *exilic*, I did so advisedly, in contradistinction to *pre-exilic*, and as a generic term comprising later stages of the language. It is beside the mark on the part of Dr. Driver to alter for me the term *exilic* to *post-exilic*, and then to base upon the alteration a laboured disquisition on the nice distinctions between *late* and *very late* idiom, both impossible in the mouth of David; and yet there are speeches of the former class which, by reason of their tally, must be genuine.

But Dr. Driver may say—for this I infer to be his contention, after a careful study of his words in the *Contemporary* and now in the *EXPOSITOR*—"You do not meet my objection. I contend that the following characteristics are observable and constant—wherever there is a tally in Samuel the Chronicler's idiom is classical; where there is no tally it is exilic or post-exilic. The facts read somewhat differently, namely, that whether with or without tally the idiom of the Chronicler is at one time mainly classical, at another time exilic or even post-exilic; and this, whether in narrative or speeches.

Dr. Driver selected in the *Contemporary* (p. 216) five untallied speeches. Of these, the three former are *post-exilic* in language; the two latter, like the rest of the untallied speeches in Chronicles, are in the main rendered in good Hebrew; whereas the speeches for which there is

a tally (*e.g.*, 1 Chron. xvii. and xxi.) display upon the whole as much linguistic deterioration as the untallied.

Admitting for the sake of argument that Dr. Driver has not overstated the diversity of treatment by the Chronicler of 1 Chronicles xvii. and xxix. ; to what does it all amount, when we remember that the Chronicler treats his sources, in respect of idiom, in most diversified ways; for, sometimes he quotes verbatim whole chapters with scarcely an alteration; sometimes he recasts narrative, as well as embedded speeches, using post-exilic phraseology even in the speeches (1 Chron. 21, 2 Chron. 9); sometimes he modifies, abbreviates, expands, omits, explains, and replaces, even in speeches, the original terms by late ones. All that Dr. Driver could legitimately urge is, that this marked difference might suggest the question whether the Chronicler was in such cases trusting to memory. There are no dates whatever for the suggestion that he was a writer of fiction or romance. Herodotus promises to outlive the imputation of invention; possibly the same good fortune awaits the Chronicler.

Still, the question presses—If the Chronicler had before him in classical Hebrew the original of chapter xxix., why did he not allow it to remain in its own idiom? Why did he give it the dress of his own times? And why in this instance should he be inconsistent with his more general practice? Surely, it is sufficient to reply that the inconsistency is one of degree, not of kind. Instances have been cited above of *some* post-exilic modifications of classical speeches. And the same principle is at work when the Chronicler adopts exilic language, *e.g.*, 1 Chron. 17, where post-exilic expressions happen not to occur.

Again, it must be borne in mind that whereas we have not all the tallies, there is strong presumption that they were in evidence to the contemporaries of the Chronicler, who were as fully competent to judge of the genuineness

of the (to us) untallied speeches as of those for which we possess parallels.

But, the preceding remarks have assumed that Dr. Driver had not overstated the Chronicler's peculiarities of treatment. To this question let us now address ourselves. The Professor (EXPOSITOR, pp. 247 ff.) gives a list of crucial examples of the Chronicler's hand in 1 Chronicles 29. In this list are included five instances of borrowing from books or reminiscences of phrases to which exception may be taken. Dr. Driver urges that "the words שלמה בני נער ורך are repeated from 22, 5 in a sentence placed in David's mouth, the late *origin* of which is sufficiently evidenced by the clause which follows." The italics are mine. For why *origin* and not *setting*? But, to pass this by, 22, 5 is a soliloquy, not a set speech. It is appended by the Chronicler to vv. 1-4, as intended to account for the activity of David. The Chronicler there reports what David had in his mind (cf. Gen. 18, 17. 32, 21; Job 1, 5, where אמר means to "say to oneself").

And the very ground of the particular thought and wording of 22, 5 is taken from the speech 29, 1 f. It is noticeable that in chapter 29, the precise occasion on which, as well as the persons to whom the speech was delivered, are given, whilst we have no indication of date or circumstance for the soliloquy 22, 5. Regarded in this light, the fact that the Chronicler made anticipatory use of the phraseology of the speech in chapter 29 is a strong proof of its authenticity.

Dr. Driver proceeds to condemn the antithesis contained in 29, 1 on the ground of a similar antithesis in a speech of Jehoshaphat reported later on in Chronicles. Is it so improbable that two persons should adopt the same line of thought and expression, the expression being limited to five words? Besides, Jehoshaphat's argument is (*pace* some critics) taken from Deuteronomy 1, 17, and similar anti-

theses abound : cf. 1 Sam. 15, 29. 16, 7. Neither the language nor the thought are peculiar to the Chronicler ; both are classical.

On p. 250 Dr. Driver compares *וְאַתָּה מוֹשֶׁל בְּכָל* with Psalm 103, 19. As to the question of borrowing—for the question of idiom will be treated separately—there is no ground to assume that because the two phrases resemble each other they are borrowed the one from the other ; still less is there reason to infer that they belong to the same age. And even if one were a reminiscence of the other, it remains to be proved which is the earlier.

Again (p. 251), what mark of lateness (29, 15) is deducible from reminiscences of Psalm 39, 13 and Job 8, 9 ? Ewald cannot determine whether to assign the former to the 8th or 9th century, and cannot quite decide whether the Psalmist or Job is the original authority.

What force is there in the observation (p. 253) that *יָצָר מִחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ לִבִּי* is borrowed from Genesis 6, 5 ? Do not pre-exilic authors borrow from the Pentateuch ? The Chronicler uses the phrase twice, it is true ; but on the same occasion, and not again. The Almighty does the same on the occasion of the flood. There is nothing remarkable in this.

Thus far exception has been taken to five of Dr. Driver's examples of the Chronicler's habit of borrowing, a habit which, he conceives, supports his contention that "the speeches in chapter 29 can be nothing but the composition of the Chronicler himself." These five may at once be struck out of his searching count of thirty-five items. Let us now proceed to scrutinize the remaining counts which are chiefly of an idiomatic nature ; then examine the tallied chapter (1 Chron. 17) which Dr. Driver attempts to prove mainly classical, and by an exhibition of what we conceive to be its marks of lateness endeavour to make good our contention that those "speeches for which there are parallels exhibit the compiler's hand as much as those for which there is no

voucher, while the latter bear no stronger impress of his individuality than the former. (*Lex Mosaica*, p. 165, and cf. p. 195, cited above).

1 Chronicles 29, 1, אָדֹר is most probably a copyist's error for אֲשֶׁר; so read LXX. This is alike good sense and classic Hebrew. One only wonders that this word should have been adduced.

v. 1. הַבֵּיירה, used again v. 19, = "a royal residence." A post-exilic word, but LXX. does not read it in this chapter. In v. 1 it omits it, while in v. 19 it read, "thy house." It was natural to substitute הַבֵּיירה for the ambiguous term.

v. 2. "Redundant style"! There is not one superfluous word. David is recounting how he has been careful to supply each several exigency with its appropriate provision. For similar phraseology cf. Isaiah 28, 10. 13.

v. 5. The alleged redundance comes under the same category as v. 2. The anomaly of the ל complained of is doubtful.

v. 11. מִתְנַשֵּׂא. An Aramaic infinitive? If so, by the showing of Dr. Driver, it is an anomaly. But why not supply אֶתָּה? Perhaps this would be too classical. Bertheau (cited by Dr. Driver) must have changed his grammar with his views, for Keil quotes his earlier edition for the rendering here proposed. But no argument can be drawn from this passage; LXX. had a different text.

v. 12. "Riches and honour." The words accurately befit the occasion. The combination of these ordinary words is no more strongly marked here than in Proverbs.

v. 12. The expression, "before thee." Where is the "strongly marked character"? לִפְנֵי is used in 1 Samuel 20, 1, in profane connection, "said before Jonathan."

v. 13. מוֹדִים . . . וּמְהַלִּים. A phrase as little proof of the Chronicler's composition as it is that of Isaiah in quoting Hezekiah (38, 18).

v. 15. If it were a fact that תִּקְוָה and מִקְוָה were used

frequently and exclusively, the former in *pre*-exilic, the latter in exilic and *post*-exilic books, Dr. Driver would be correct in assigning the latter to a *post*-exilic age; but תָּקַח occurs only once in the books admitted by the critics to be *pre*-exilic (Hosea), unless *Ruth* be so accounted, where also it occurs once; whereas it is mainly used in books said to be late, viz., in Psalms 3 times, in Proverbs 8 times, in Job 13, in Ezekiel twice, in Zechariah once. In Jeremiah the instances are equi-balanced. מָקַח however occurs in *post*-exilic books only twice, so that the two words are apparently co-eval. No linguistic inference can be drawn.

v. 17. מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. Daniel 11, 6 is the only place where this word is not poetical. Here the clause in which it occurs is structurally poetical.

v. 18. A difficult passage. Too much is made of the ל, since it is not certain that we have here a *definite* interpreting the *indefinite*. The idea may be "bear this in mind for" (= in judging of) the imagination of the thoughts, etc.

Pass we now to chapter 17, to ascertain if exilic phrases are as conspicuous by their absence as Dr. Driver represents.

v. 2. The change of "God" for "Jehovah" is several times made in this chapter, but pointedly here.

v. 5. Unintelligible; probably corrupt. vv. 5-14 might, on Dr. Driver's principles, be alleged to have been borrowed from Psalm 89, v. 20 ff.; or Jeremiah 7, vv. 7, 22-25, but for the tally.

v. 7. בֵּן אַחֲרֵי, admitted by Dr. Driver to be characteristic of the Chronicler.

v. 8. The sudden change from past to future here and in v. 10 is inelegant.

v. 10. וּלְמִיָּמִים. I called it a "modern" expression (*Lex Mosaica*, p. 244). It is an unclassical one. Dr. Driver writes:—"As לְמִיָּמִים is a classical idiom it is difficult to

understand why the plural should not be classical likewise." The uses of the singular and plural are quite different and peculiar. Whereas מִיּוֹם can stand for "from *the* day," and therefore be followed by אֲשֶׁר (which in poetry is suppressed); מִיָּמִים absolute, and without determining suffix, either means "a twelvemonth," as in the set phrase מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה "from year to year" (probably so in 2 Chron. 19), or it conveys, like עוֹלָם, the sense of an indefinite time: it is specially so used in *Judges* (11, 4. 14, 8. 15, 1). Its use here for "from the day" is clearly unclassical.

v. 10. Style inelegant, meaning obscure. Even if 10a is (with LXX.) joined to 9, the sudden change of tense is hard.

v. 11. "To walk with thy fathers." Unclassical in thought and expression.

ib. "Thy seed that shall be of your sons." A pointless tautology. The Chronicler has departed from the original. Did he do so purposely to avoid anachronism, as Solomon was already born? But to do this he need not have altered the text, but read יֶצֶא for יֵצֵא.

v. 14. מִלְכוּת, exilic. Cf. Dr. Driver's *Introd.*, 474, 503.

ib. וְהַעֲמַדְתִּיהוּ, ib., 503.

ib. עוֹלָם, with prefix ה post-exilic.¹

ib. Both parts of this verse seem a repetition from vv. 11, 12.

Is this not a redundancy?

v. 17. וְרֵאִיתָנִי ff. Not only obscure, but the syntax heavy.

v. 18. לְכַבֹּד אֶת, יוֹסִיף . . . אֱלֹהִים. Obscure and awkward syntax; for the latter expression, cf. 2 Chronicles 26, 18; 1 Samuel 2, 12.

v. 19. נִדְלוּת and נִדְלוּהָ, exilic.

The pre-exilic word is נָדַל, and Dr. Driver's sneer in his

¹ It occurs 11 times, and only after עַל or כִּן against an overwhelming use of the word without ה. For Joel 2, 2, cf. *Expositor*, p. 248 n.

note on p. 244 of EXPOSITOR at my quoting the former as a "modern" word is gratuitous.

v. 21. עַם reads awkwardly: perhaps the right reading was לַעַם.

יב. שֵׁם נִדְלוֹת. An abnormal phrase, as Dr. Driver (EXPOSITOR, 246 n.) admits. Cf. also *supra*.

יב. נִרִים placed at the end of the verse after an inserted clause sounds weak without some addition. It is not strong enough to be severed from the verb and stand by itself.

vv. 22-27. Much is diffuse and tautologous. A genuine example of redundancy.

v. 25. לִבְנוֹת. Oblique narration.

יב. After the verb מִצָּא, classical Hebrew requires an object such as לֵב (cf. Sam. *in loc.*).

v. 27. לְהוֹיֵת. Oblique narration.

יב. וּמִבְרָךְ. A sentence expressed peculiarly without a subject (cf. Driver, *Introd.*, 504).

We have now examined the two chapters which Dr. Driver selected for contrast, viz. 1 Chronicles 29 and 17, and have found occasion to modify considerably the results of his comparison in respect of (a) borrowing; (b) redundancy; (c) late idiom.

In noting late idiom in chapters 29 and 17 (EXPOSITOR, 244 ff.) Dr. Driver manifests a tendency to stock the former (untallied) chapter with every item, however slight, many of which to our less keen eye present no force at all, as, *e.g.*, his alleged reminiscences, etc., while he endeavours (EXPOSITOR, p. 244 and n. 4) to minimize the aspect of lateness in the (tallied) chapter 17 by discarding as quite unimportant sound evidence of lateness, evidence that he himself adduces in his *Introd.*, *e.g.*, מִלְכוּת, הָעֶמִיד, clauses without a subject, etc. Only by such devices can he arrive at the extraordinary statement (EXPOSITOR, 244): "In the whole of the two speeches . . . there is not a single

trace of the cumbrous and laboured syntax of the Chronicler, not one of his mannerisms or peculiar idioms," etc.

Without for one moment accepting the compliment repeatedly proffered, of possessing a keen eye for detecting marks of lateness, I venture to demur to Dr. Driver's omission of such marked exilic expressions as העלם and גרלה, and reject such flimsy evidence as מקרה and מלפניך, pp. 250, 252.

It is a misrepresentation of fact to say that the speeches contained in 1 Chronicles 17 are "clear and flowing" (p. 246). Thus, of the three verses given (p. 243) *in extenso* in proof of his contention, only the middle one can be translated into "lucid and flowing" English without violation of the text. True, the chapter is virtually the same as 2 Samuel 7, but the text of Samuel itself often reads awkwardly, while such expressions as גרלה and "the Lord God" should caution a critic against pronouncing the text even of Samuel to be pure. The well-known tendency of the Chronicler to abbreviate his sources has been at work in this chapter to such an extent that without the omission of a single verse of the original the text in Chronicles is 46 words shorter than that in Samuel. This circumstance naturally renders the style cumbrous.

But, is not any reference to the tally in Samuel unfair? Surely, the two chapters ought to be treated each on its own merits, as if neither had a tally. It is gratuitous on Dr. Driver's part to challenge me (p. 255) to find in chapter 17 just such passages as he has there collected. I never maintained that any particular kind of idiom is a mark of lateness. Moreover, Dr. Driver's instances are probably the only ones to be found in speeches.

In chapter 17 we have found every kind of late idiom alleged by Dr. Driver for chapter 29; save that in the latter there is a preponderance of single words that are late, while in chapter 17 the lateness manifests itself in heavy syntax.

It is a misrepresentation of the facts to maintain (pp. 243, 246, 254) that chapter 17 can be restored to lucid and flowing Hebrew by removing "a few and slight" touches of the Chronicler's hand, whereas the late idiom in chapter 29 affects whole classes. The very reverse would be true. Nearly all the items of late idiom in chapter 29 consist of single words which might be exchanged for old ones without touching their setting; whereas the task of reconstructing chapter 17 in "clear and flowing" Hebrew is difficult throughout, even with the help of the text in Samuel.

The unwary reader will gain the impression from Dr. Driver's words that the untallied speeches in Chronicles are full of the late idiom that is so abundant in chapter 29, and of such phases as he adduces on p. 255. Thus, Dr. Driver remarks (p. 245 n.) that if chapter 17 "had been the Chronicler's own composition, the marks of his style would certainly have been both more distinctive and much more frequent"; but Dr. Driver maintains in the *Contemporary Review*, cited EXPOSITOR, p. 242, on grounds other than idiomatic, that 2 Chronicles 15, 2-7, and 20, 5-12 are inventions of the Chronicler. What if he had chosen these speeches for comparison with chapter 17? They are, except four exilic touches, couched in classic Hebrew, and read both lucid and flowing.

In the other speeches cited by Dr. Driver as fictitious, viz. 1 Chronicles 29, and 2 Chronicles 13, 5-12, there occur 26 late words in 47 lines, or one word in every second line. In all the rest of the untallied speeches in Chronicles there are found 34 late words in 191 lines, or about one word in six lines.¹

¹ Instances could be given in which Dr. Driver invalidates his own witnesses; inasmuch as he adduces both in the EXPOSITOR and *Introduction* instances where the Chronicler has changed classic for late expressions in excerpting from Samuel and Kings, e.g., כְּאִוֶּר into לְרֹב (EXPOSITOR, 248); cf. also 2 Chronicles

It may be asked, If the Chronicler was so astute as to hide his identity in the other speeches by employing classic Hebrew, how is it that he forgot his cunning in chapter 29 and 2 Chronicles 2?

The answer lies in the fact observable throughout, that the Chronicler has no one consistent method of dealing with his sources, and that therefore inferences drawn from his style and idiom are at best equivocal.

VALPY FRENCH.

ST. PAUL'S LAST VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

THE account of this visit in Acts xxi.-xxiii. presents certain well-known difficulties, which have been used as serious arguments against its authenticity. We read, for instance, (i.) that St. Paul consented to share personally in an elaborate Levitical purification in the temple; (ii.) that he did this in order to show "that there was no truth" in the current report that he taught "all Jews that were among the Gentiles to forsake Moses;"¹ (iii.) that before the Sanhedrim he claimed to be himself a Pharisee, who was persecuted for holding the Pharisees' faith "touching the hope and resurrection of the dead." When we recollect that the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans had been written not many months before, such an attitude on the part of their author appears unnatural and inconsistent, not to say disingenuous. And yet there are some neglected elements in the situation, which, I submit, go

33, 8 (*Introd.*, 503, No. 4; 504, No. 18; 505, No. 27). On the grounds of changes like this, it is impossible to assert of any late expression in the Chronicles that it has not an historic basis.

¹ Dr. Hatch (in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th edition, article "Paul") has curiously overstated this point. He describes the report about St. Paul as that "he had told the *Gentiles* not to circumcise their children," and naturally adds that the Apostle's repudiation of this "seems hardly credible."

far to explain, if not to justify, the Apostle's bearing, and so far to confirm the narrative.

An English journal has recently discussed the influence exerted by great cities like Athens and Paris over their inhabitants. The Bible is full of proofs of the unique and enduring spell which Jerusalem had power to weave round her children. Through the chequered history of a thousand years the fortunes of the chosen people had centred round this royal fortress, which was also the house and home of God. And as the scattered nation became a Church, its Holy City grew into the one sanctuary of the tribes in their dispersion; it became the symbol of their unity, the Mecca of their pilgrimage, to their imagination the spiritual *omphalos* of the world. Indeed, one may almost say that in St. Paul's day, at least for the stricter Jews, Jerusalem *was* Judaism—in the same sort of way in which through its ages of decline Constantinople was the Eastern Empire. The patriots of Palestine clung to their sacred mother-city with indescribable love and reverence and pride. And the Jew abroad in pagan lands left his heart behind him at home. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." "He beheld the city, and wept over it." After eighteen centuries of time and ruin and war, a wailing place among the broken walls of Zion still bears witness to the same undying memory and regret.

We may believe that Saul of Tarsus was a boy when he was first brought within these charmed precincts, where he passed all his impressionable youth and early manhood at the feet of the great Gamaliel and under the shadow of the Holy House. He seems to have spent some fifteen years as scholar and student and Rabbi and Pharisee at Jerusalem: this was his school, and college, and university, and cathedral, and metropolis: as we might say, his Eton, and Trinity, and St. Stephen's, and Westminster Abbey,

blended into one. All his beliefs and traditions and hopes clustered round the city and the temple, whose very stones were testimonies to the ancient law of God. And though in after years he outgrew that law as a system, he had no words against the temple as a shrine. His only written reference to the city occurs in a pathetic parenthesis: "Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children" (Gal. iv. 25); for St. Paul felt the galling of the foreign yoke upon Israel. And it is noteworthy how in the next verse, "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all," he was the earliest to transfer that dear and venerable name to the highest Christian ideal. Later writers took up and expanded the usage which soon became a commonplace in the Church; yet the way in which that phrase "the new Jerusalem" attracted and absorbed Christian sentiment bears striking witness to the place held by its original and counterpart in old Jewry. The Apostle was perhaps thirty years old when he rode out of Jerusalem through the Damascus gate to meet that which revolutionized his character and career. He little dreamed that he would never enter the city again except on a few hasty and fugitive visits at long intervals of time. So far as we can tell, it was three years before he returned, and then after a fortnight he had to flee from assassination. Jerusalem was henceforth a place of peril for the heretic Rabbi, the renegade Pharisee. Some seven years later he was back with Barnabas, only to bring alms to the Church (Acts xi. 30, and xii. 23). And after seven years more he returned to the apostolic conference, in which, he tells us, he took part "privately" [Gal. ii. 2—query, on account of his personal insecurity in the city?] And now, "*after many days*," he says, "I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings." Is there no accent of the exiled patriot in those words? Surely the passion of Dante for Florence, the tenderness of Newman for Oxford,

were mingled in St. Paul's love for that Jerusalem which he had quitted for good nearly a quarter of a century before.¹

It is an error to assume that because St. Paul repudiated Judaism for his Gentile converts he therefore left off keeping the law himself. The logic of his theology might indeed prove that law to be no longer binding on any whom Christ had made free. But personal conduct is always determined by sentiment and habit and association, rather than by mere logic. An eminent modern Rabbi, who has been an earnest and active Christian for forty years, confessed to me recently that he could never yet bring himself to eat food Levitically unclean: the ingrained prejudices of his youth were too strong. Similarly, it is not at all strange to find ceremonial customs persisting in St. Paul long after he was theoretically satisfied that such things were neither vital nor necessary for a Christian. He could still shave his head and register his vow, "as in the manner born." He "hasted" to be in time for the feast at the Holy City with something of the old longing: "Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem." And probably he found it quite easy to submit to the act of ritual proposed to him by the apostles. It was on the face of it an ungracious proposal. But St. Paul had just disburdened himself of the foreign contributions for "the poor saints at Jerusalem"; and it is proverbially difficult to be gracious to benefactors whom you privately dislike and distrust. No one pretends that these "poor saints" had much personal regard for St. Paul. And just on this account his immense charity, which was ready to "be all things," if it might conciliate an opponent or

¹ The following approximate dates of the Apostle's career illustrate the argument, but it does not depend on their accuracy: A.D. 34, conversion; 37, first return to Jerusalem; 44, second visit; 50, apostolic conference; 54, end of second journey (Acts xviii. 22); 59, end of third journey (Acts xxi. 28).

save a brother from stumbling, would move him to comply with their request, if he conscientiously could. To call this "going to Canossa," or "a public penance," or to compare it with Luther in his old age performing a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln with peas in his shoes, is, I think, entirely to misconstrue the situation. St. Paul was never slow to crucify his personal dignity for the gospel's sake, and probably this act of compliance in itself seemed to him a customary harmless piece of ritual. Its precise details are obscure; but it meant that he had to share the ceremony of purification in the temple with four poor devotees, and perhaps defray their expenses as well as his own in the matter. This seems to have involved keeping a kind of "retreat"; the purified lived for seven days secluded in the temple courts, giving their time to meditation and prayer.

Now St. Paul always showed himself sensitive to his environment. Witness his sermon inspired by the legend on a vacant altar at Athens; or his inventory of spiritual armour (Eph. vi.), taken almost certainly from the soldier who was guarding him while he wrote; or his farewell on the beach at Miletus to those friends whom he never expected to see again. And now his heart which had learned so much and yet had forgotten nothing must have been stirred to its depths, when he found himself back at the sacredest place on earth, where he had spent so many early, ardent, mistaken years, and whence had sprung the chief opposition to his later mission and ministry. And yet probably those associations with Jerusalem which are strongest for a modern Christian were far from being the strongest with St. Paul. Dr. Denney has said that "no apostle ever *remembered* Jesus," *i.e.* thought of Him as belonging to the past; and of all the apostles St. Paul was most removed from the historical life of our Lord, and most absorbed in His abiding and eternal presence. It

would never occur to him that the True Cross should be looked for elsewhere than in that spiritual experience which made him "co-transfused with Christ." To explore the Holy Sepulchre would seem to him like seeking the living among the dead: that grave was not worthy to be compared with the Risen Lord of Glory, who had become Resurrection and Life in St. Paul's own soul. To him the great Christian associations of Jerusalem were transcendent inward experiences, and not mere guide-book details. But just on that account its Jewish and personal associations would revive in him and react on him with the greater force. That week of brooding in the temple would bring back all his early dreams. The Hebrew of the Hebrews was worshipping once more at the shrine of his ancestral faith. From that lofty vantage ground he could look out across the beautiful city "spreading her gardens to the moonlight and whispering from her towers" the last message of the ancient covenant, which Christ Himself came not to destroy, but to fulfil.

And when the fanatical mob made a tumult and St. Paul was haled before the Sanhedrim, that scene must have recalled more vividly still the days when he himself had been "the rising hope of the stern and unbending" Pharisees, when he had looked forward to occupy one of the chief seats before which he was now being judged. Dormant feelings and memories woke up and asserted themselves afresh. He could not help catching the tone of the assembly: he knew its tactics, he had felt its pulse so often before. First, his sense of order was outraged by treatment which proved the president of the Sanhedrim to be as lawless as the mob outside. Then when he was rebuked for his indignant protest, he excused himself with a text quoted quite in the style of Rabbinic exegesis. And finally, as he gauged the old familiar situation and saw the balance of rival parties and prejudices, the Rabbi's instinct

prevailed over the Apostle's candour; he could not resist flinging an apple of discord among his enemies. "I am a Pharisee," he cried; and we can understand how for the moment he almost did feel himself a Pharisee again.

I do not say that this construction entirely explains or excuses St. Paul's dealings with the Sanhedrim. Dean Farrar has detected a note of subsequent compunction in Acts xxiv. 21. But I submit that such a reading of the narrative does help to make the whole episode more natural and more coherent, more psychologically *possible*. It illustrates the Apostle's temperament, and it is in no contradiction with his epistles. And thus it serves indirectly to confirm what it seemed apparently to invalidate.

T. H. DARLOW.

*THE VEIL OF THE TEMPLE RENT IN TWAIN
FROM THE TOP TO THE BOTTOM.*

THIS was a thick, gorgeously coloured veil, which divided the interior of the temple into two parts; the outer part being for the daily services of the priests, the inner one, called "the holiest of all," being shut out from view by this veil, which stretched from the one side of the temple to the other. Within this veil no one was allowed to enter on pain of death save the high priest, and he only once a year, on the great day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.); and "not without blood, which he offered for himself and for the errors of the people" (Heb. ix. 7). For he, being a sinful man like the people themselves, could make no atonement for them till atonement had been made for his own sins. For this purpose, a bullock having been killed for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering, he carried their blood within the veil, and sprinkled it seven times before and upon the mercy seat as an atonement for his own sins

and those of his house. This done, he came forth again, and taking the blood of a goat as a sin-offering for the people, he carried it within the veil, and did with it as he had done for himself. Whereupon a cloud covered the mercy seat, in token of the acceptance of these offerings for the atonement of both priest and people, till He should "appear to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself" (Heb. ix. 26). After this the high priest, now representing the great High Priest, came forth to bless the people in these words: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift upon thee His countenance, and give thee peace."

Yet in all the blood of beasts, on Jewish altars slain, there was not a drop of atoning virtue; "for it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin" (Heb. x. 4). It was a kind of *promissory note*, which, when Christ should "appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. ix. 24), would be duly cashed, so to speak, by the Father.

On the credit of this atonement, to be in due time offered, all the saints of the ancient Economy, who could know nothing of the *way* in which their sins were forgiven save in figure, were received up into heaven.

Nor are we left in doubt whether they are actually there at present, the two great representatives of the saints of the ancient Economy—Moses and Elijah, the one representing the saints under the *Law*, the other those under the *Prophets*, appeared in glory at the Transfiguration of our Lord on the mount. "Behold," says the evangelist, "there *talked with Him* two men, which were Moses and Elijah." It was a dialogue, it seems, between them and Jesus. And what were they "talking" about? It was not about the "glory" they were enjoying in heaven. It was about "the *decease* which He was to accomplish in Jerusalem." They

seem to have watched His progress thus far, and were eagerly looking forward to the great event on which hinged their right to be where they were. What *He* said to *them* we can scarcely conjecture. But they, while adoring Him for the love that had brought them thus far to the appalling crisis, would venture, I think, to cheer Him on; nor can I doubt that, with the human feeling which He anticipated the worst, the emotions to which they would give vent would inspire fresh courage, and kindle that "noble flame" of which Cowper sings, when "hasting to Jerusalem, He marched before the rest."

But until the decease had been actually accomplished, the veil of the temple behoved still to hang, keep out of view the holiest of all. Even His dying agonies on the cross did not rend it; and not till with His expiring breath He uttered with a loud, exultant shout, *Τετέλεσται*, "*It is finished*," was the veil rent.

But what rent it? For at that moment not a soul was to be seen in the temple. The priests and the people were all at Calvary, which was at some distance from the temple, watching the crucifixion. It was that shout of victory, "*It is finished*," that did it, as the evangelist emphatically expresses it, "*Behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom*." Up to that moment it was death to go within the veil. But now that it was thrown wide open, it is life to go in.

"Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest *by the blood of Jesus*, through the (rent) veil, let us draw near."

DAVID BROWN.

ON THE GOD-MAN.

II. THE INCARNATION AND HUMAN NATURE.

CORRESPONDING to the humanity in God is the divine in man. As the Son of God reaches forward His hand to man, so man rises to meet Him in religion, which may be defined as subordination to God springing, in its highest form, from the filial spirit; and, therefore, resemblance to the Son of God. If the Son is eternally subordinate to the Father, and, because He is the Son, capable of becoming and willing to become man, human nature also is capable of sonship, that is, divine origination and subordination, and can be elevated into a fit shrine of Deity. How are the ideal humanity in God and the actual humanity related? We have hitherto considered the subject in relation to the Trinity. We have seen the humanity of God manifesting itself in the Son as He is the eternal Archetype of man. When we come down to the Son's actual appearance on earth, the same great conception of the Son of God as the Archetype of man meets us from the first, and dominates the character of the theology of the Incarnation in the three most original of the first expounders of Christianity, the Evangelist John, the Apostle Paul, and the unknown writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We shall consider them in order.

(i.) Among the writers of the New Testament John is famous for the prominence of the name *Logos* in his Gospel;¹ and the conception, though not the word, occu-

¹ The Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel is admitted by Bayschlag and by Principal Drummond in his able and candid *Hibbert Lectures*, "Via, Veritas, Vita," p. 308.

pies as great a place in the epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. The root idea of the Trinity is that God is love; and the obscurity that involves the conception in the Old Testament arises from the absence, in some measure, of a revelation of the ethical character of the Most High. But an easier and nearer description prepares for the conception of God's love. The attribute of wisdom is personified. "Doth not wisdom cry, and understanding put forth her voice?"¹ Under the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy the conception of wisdom becomes more speculative in the Apocryphal books, as in Baruch;² and in the Wisdom of Solomon³ it is represented as an emanation (*ἀπορροια*) of God, and the effulgence (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of His everlasting light. Wisdom loves men,⁴ and appears in connection with the Logos.⁵ In the Book of Enoch⁶ Messiah is described as having the spirit of wisdom. Turning to ethnic speculations, the "Reason" (*λόγος*) of Heraclitus, and the "Ideas" of Plato and the Stoics, notwithstanding inconsistent elements, such as the Stoic materialism, join the Hebrew stream in the Alexandrian Philo. He speaks of the Logos as superhuman and divine, on the one hand, and, on the other, as "the heavenly Man," "the Archetype of man." He speaks also of man as the most God-like thing in the Kosmos, an impression of a beautiful image, stamped with the pattern of the archetypal rational idea. But the two elements lie apart, without fusion. The Logos is never represented as incarnate. And the arguments of Mr. F. C. Conybeare⁷ in favour of the view that Philo regarded the Logos as a real Person, and not a mere personification of the highest of the divine powers, are too uncertain, to say the least, to warrant us in

¹ Prov. viii. 1. The chapter is throughout instructive.

² Bar. iii. 28.

³ Wisd. vii. 25.

⁴ *ib.* vii. 21.

⁵ *ib.* xvi. 13.

⁶ En. xlii. 1; xlix. 3.

⁷ *The Jewish Quarterly Review* for July, 1895.

inferring that the Logos-ship was attributed afterwards to Jesus of Nazareth because of the quasi-human elements in Philo's conception of the Logos. The writer is nearer the truth when he says "that the notion of an incarnation would doubtless have shocked Philo." The incarnation, as well as the cross, would have been a stumbling-block to Jews. Yet all these sources contribute their share to the form which the New Testament idea assumed, and make it intelligible to all classes and nations, though it is probable that the Apostle John knew nothing about either Greek philosophy or Philo. At least, the conception of the Logos in his Gospel as making the *ἐνανθρώπησις* possible, and the identification of the Logos with Jesus, seems to be perfectly original¹ and independent, and to have been suggested by our Lord's moral greatness. When revealed, the conception of the incarnate Logos becomes at once complete,—the greatest truth of the New Testament, the foundation of all truths, the meeting point of anthropo-centric and theocentric theology. The prologue of John's Gospel combines in a marvellous way the highest Christological conception of the Logos with the minutest historical account of the doings and sayings of Jesus. Harnack has said that this prologue "is a mystery, not the solution of one."² The Epistle to the Hebrews also starts with the pre-existent Logos, an idea not directly made use of in the rest of the treatise. The prologue of John is really the prologue of the entire New Testament, and its central idea is that the Logos *was* God and *became* flesh.

(ii.) It is more especially in the Apostle Paul's system

¹ The originality of John is maintained by Bishop Westcott, who observes "that the assumption of humanity by the Word, who is God, was a truth undreamt of till it was realized" (*Gospel of Life*, p. 252); by Illingworth (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 86); and Drummond (*Via, Veritas, Vita*, p. 307). But, if John teaches only a humanitarian Christ, I can see nothing new, in the thought "that the utterance of the Eternal Reason speaks directly to the soul."

² *History of Dogma*, vol. i. p. 97, E.T.

that we find this idea yielding the richest harvest. We must, therefore, give an account of it at somewhat greater length. We may briefly characterize his theology as centring in the conception of the "Second Adam." But it connects itself with three features that stand out prominent in the life of Jesus Christ: (1) The first is His perfect sinlessness: "For He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."¹ In Paul's theology of redemption, taken in connection with his doctrine of universal and natural sinfulness, the sinlessness of Jesus was a necessary condition of the merits of His death. (2) The second is the tradition of His virgin-birth: "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law."² This we believe to be a veiled, but very significant, allusion to the miraculous birth of Jesus, and a declaration that a life previously free from the law was ushered into the world, and redeemed us that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons; and, because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father; wherefore we are no more servants, but sons. Redemption procures, in Paul's theology, real sonship through adoption. (3) The third is the name by which Jesus nearly always speaks of Himself, Son of Man, or, as the Apostle designates Him, "the second Adam": "The last Adam was made a quickening Spirit."³ Christ is the second beginning of humanity. Redemption delivers men, not merely from personal sin, but also from the guilt of the race.

Let us consider these sources from which we think the theology of the Apostle Paul is historically derived.

(1) *The Sinlessness of Jesus.*

"The Religion of Jesus" has been proposed by Mar-

¹ 2 Cor. v. 21.

² Gal. iv. 4.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 46.

tineau, following a suggestion of Lessing, as a better name than Christianity. The usual designation comprises a wider field, the relations of Christ to other men, and the universally diffused system of religion arising from those relations. But even they originate in what Jesus was personally; and in that respect we may call Christianity a religion that rests essentially on the unique and perfect piety of Jesus, and consists in a veritable "*imitatio Christi*." The New Testament describes Jesus as a Holy Man, and as the only Sinless Man that ever lived and died on earth. This was the impression made upon all that saw Him. It was the universal tradition among His followers. So powerful was this belief that, whatever other causes may have given birth to the Christian Church, we may be sure that they would all have been insufficient, if this element had been wanting. Even the prophet contrasts the guilt of Israel with the absolute sinlessness of Messiah.¹ The New Testament is full of it, is saturated with it. The words spoken to Mary by the angel, "that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," express not merely the consecration of the firstborn to the service of the Lord,² but such sinlessness as had not yet been found or expected among the children of men. The anticipations of His mother are in the subsequent history realized in His own consciousness. In His early years He has free and happy fellowship with God; His agony begins very near His death. The opposite would be the case of a good man who is conscious of sin, and, as a matter of fact, we often see men ending their life in great peace, whose youth was marked with conflict and anguish. That He was sinless became the unbroken conviction of all His contemporaries, whether friends or enemies, so that He dares to face the world with the challenge, "Who of you convinceth me of

¹ Isa. xlviii. 1-8, compared with liii. 9.

² Luke i. 35; ii. 23.

sin?"¹ One of the latest of the New Testament writers brings Christ's personal sinlessness to the front to prove His fitness to be the High Priest: "For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens."² Sinlessness in Him is not merely a neutral quality, or innocence, as it was in the first Adam. The New Testament speaks of His being tempted; and temptation means nothing if it does not comprise striving against sin. Hence we are exhorted, in the same wonderful epistle, to "look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of faith":³ the great exemplar, because the victor, in the fight. The words, "For we have not an high priest who cannot be touched by the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin,"⁴ must mean that, though He was tempted to sin, the conflict left Him immaculate. The meaning is, not that though He was tried in various ways, He was not tried by being tempted to sin. That temptation to sin is possible to a sinless man we know, from the fact of the fall. How the God-Man could be tempted we may not be able to discover. But there can be no doubt that Jesus Christ during His life on earth was being perfected or made holy by discipline. The Epistle to the Hebrews states this clearly: "He learned obedience by the things which He suffered," and His sufferings included "prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death."⁵ The process of perfecting commenced at the beginning of His life, when "the child grew and waxed strong in spirit . . . and increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man."⁶ It was brought to a close in his obedience unto death.

The temptations of Jesus Christ arose from His claim

¹ John viii. 46.

² Heb. vii. 26.

³ Heb. xii. 3.

⁴ Heb. iv. 15.

⁵ Heb. v. 7.

⁶ Luke i. 80; ii. 52.

to be Messiah. They were addressed to sinless needs and desires of the Man. Taking the order in Matthew, the first temptation, "If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread," assails His faith in God and suggests doubt. The second is a temptation to presumption and is designed to incite to fanaticism, the opposite tendency in human nature. The third temptation points out an easy way to success in Messiah's work. When Satan failed to tempt Him to scepticism and fanaticism, and failed also to stir in His breast the ordinary motives of men, neither sceptical nor fanatical, but worldly wise, he leaves Him "for a time." When next "the prince of this world comes" to Jesus, "He hath nothing in Him."¹ After repeated failures he tried at last to discourage Him with forebodings of utter defeat with regard to the great object of His life. But Jesus knew from the beginning what all good men come to understand at last, that true victory is apparent defeat, or, as He Himself expressed it, "that, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."² All these temptations found "nothing in Him"—no sin on which to fasten in the spirit of Messiah, and after spending their force they leave Him stainless, as man, and, therefore more than man.

Again, the sinlessness of Christ is not a mere instinct, but has its root in His personal free act. That is the reason why He required the help of the Spirit of God as other men do. Holsten³ and Irving⁴ maintained, on the contrary, from Romans viii. 3, that the Son of God took upon Him *sinful* flesh. But, as Meyer⁵ points out, they

¹ John xiv. 30.

² John xii. 24.

³ *Zum Evangelium*, etc., p. 436.

⁴ *Collected Writings*, vol. v., p. 146, criticised by Bruce, *Humiliation*, etc., p. 270. But "redemption by sample" may be held without supposing Christ's flesh to have been sinful. See Du Bose, chap. xiii.

⁵ *In loc.*

fail to observe that the Apostle lays emphasis on the word "likeness."

Again, the fact that Jesus never confessed sin implies, in His case, that He never did sin.¹ In every other good man the saintlier he becomes the more pitiless is his self-condemnation, and the more severe he is on certain kinds of sin, such as hypocrisy. But Jesus, if He were a sinner, was guilty of the very worst forms of sin, which He rebuked with burning anger in the Pharisees of His day. Yet He never accuses Himself. He calls Himself a green branch, in contrast to the dry,² and the Apostle Paul says that, when Christ "was manifested in the flesh, He was justified in the spirit," i.e., in His innermost consciousness.³ His life was so blameless that the Apostle Peter was not afraid of openly declaring that He "did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth."⁴ Baptism was not to Him the sacrament of repentance; nor is it so represented anywhere in the Gospels. It was a sacramental recognition of Him as Messiah.⁵ He never speaks about redeeming Himself, but declares Himself to be the paschal lamb, "whose blood of the new covenant is shed for many unto the remission of sins."⁶

These considerations are conclusive as to the sinlessness of Jesus.

(2) *The birth of Jesus from a Virgin.*

The virgin-birth has, it must be confessed, the appearance of a myth, not only to those who cannot admit the possibility of miracles,⁷ but also to one who finds no

¹ For a most successful presentation of this argument cf. Mozley, *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 116, and Godet, *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith*, p. 236: "The holier a man is the clearer is his perception of moral evil."

² Luke xxiii. 30.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 9.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 22.

⁵ John i. 33; iii. 36. Cf. Tert., *De Baptismo*, xii., "Ipse Dominus nullius penitentiae debitor tinctus est: peccatoribus non fuit necesse?"

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 28.

⁷ Cf. Dr. Stopford Brooke's, *God and Christ*, p. 182. On the other side, in

difficulty in accepting them. For, supposing it to be a myth, we easily account for its having arisen as the fulfilment of the prophecy in Isaiah vii. 14. The evangelist Matthew plainly declares that "all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is God with us."¹ The Evangelist has adopted the translation of the Septuagint, *παρθένος*.² Harnack³ refers the belief to post-apostolic times, and Dr. Bruce⁴ admits that it is a later addition prefixed to the evangelic story of the public ministry and the final sufferings of Jesus. Godet, on the other hand, thinks "a narrative so perfect could only have emanated from the holy sphere within which the mystery was accomplished." "A later origin," he says, "would inevitably have betrayed itself by some foreign element."⁵ Certainly we can at once understand why it was kept "a family secret" and one of the three mysteries which, as Ignatius⁶ tells us, "were wrought in the silence of God." (A sure evidence, by the way, that the Fourth Gospel, which does not mention it, was not written in the second century, when, as Ignatius says, the mystery of the virgin-birth

defence, cf. an article by Prof. Ince, in the *EXPOSITOR* for June, 1895. A correspondence on the question appeared recently in the *Academy*.

¹ Matt. i. 22, 23.

² Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion have *παρβ* (as the three are found in Origen's Hexapla). The Hebrew is '*almah*'. Jerome, Vitringa, Pusey, Alexander, accept the rendering "virgin." Delitzsch and Kay adopt the same rendering, but from the context, not from the derivation or usage. Driver, Cheyne, Kirkpatrick, concur in saying that '*almah*' is not the usual term for "virgin." Cf. also Schultz (*Theology of the Old Testament*), and Briggs (*Messianic Prophecy*). Sir E. Strachey's *Jewish History and Politics* may still be read with advantage, p. 109.

³ Cited by Swete, *ut infra*.

⁴ *Apologetics*, p. 409.

⁵ On Luke i. 28.

⁶ *Ad Eph.* 19. The three mysteries were ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, ὁ τοκερὸς αὐτῆς, and ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου.

of Jesus "was proclaimed to all.") We believe the virgin-birth to have been a fact, however strange it appears at first, and however difficult it may be to harmonize the genealogies and to explain the relation of the "brethren" of Jesus, and however easy it would be to account for the origin of the myth.¹ Mark, who is now supposed to have been the earliest of the evangelists, may not have heard of it, and the author of the Fourth Gospel, whom the critics believe in these days with increasingly general consent to have been the Apostle John, and to whom our Lord on the Cross committed the care of His mother, would naturally, in speaking of the Divine origin of Christ, omit the manner of His human birth. Matthew, probably, gives the account which he received from Joseph, whose genealogy he traces. Luke, we may surmise, received "the secret" from the Virgin herself; and it is very unlikely that he would have kept it from the Apostle Paul. The words "made of a woman"² we have already taken to be a covert allusion to the same mystery. They mean that He who was made in a miraculous manner of a woman only, so that He was not subject to original sin, as all other descendants of the first Adam, according to the Pauline anthropology, were, was yet made under the law.

This is really its dogmatic significance. The fathers, in order to obviate the supposition of our Lord's natural depravity, speaks of the purification of the Virgin before His birth. So Gregory Nazianzen,³ Leo,⁴ and John Damascene,⁵ who says "that the holy thing born of Mary was

¹ The student who desires to trace the tradition as far back as possible will find very cogent arguments in its favour in Prof. Swete's book on *The Apostles' Creed* (pp. 42-55).

² Gal. iv. 4.

³ Or. 38, *κυθεις μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σαρκὰ προκαθαρθείσης τῇ πνεύματι*.

⁴ *Serm. XXII. iii.*, "Hæc inde purgationem traxit unde concepit."

⁵ *De Fide Orthodoxa*, III. 2, οὐ σπερματικῶς, ἀλλὰ δημιουργικῶς.

formed from the first by creation, and was hypostatized by the Logos of God." In more recent times Schleiermacher¹ admits the sinlessness of Jesus, and consequently recognises the supernatural character of the birth, yet does not believe it to have been wrought "out of nature, but according to nature," and several expositors have acknowledged that even on that supposition the dogmatic import of the miraculous birth would be still intact. For, they argue, transmission of original sin would have been prevented in the manner supposed by Schleiermacher. But the objection to Schleiermacher's hypothesis is what Damascene mentions, that the humanity of Christ was not, as a fact, humanly produced, which suggests that it was requisite that God should *create* it immediately. This objection is stated by Julius Müller.² In fact the Logos fashioned His own humanity, but from materials given by the faith and piety of the Virgin. It is not at all impossible that her faith is the high watermark of piety attained among the covenant people. The words of Mary are certainly most beautiful in their simplicity: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word." Again: "The Lord has regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me"—not a reproach, but—"blessed."³

¹ *Christl. Glaub.*, vol. ii. § 118 (Ed. 1828).

² *On Sin*, vol. ii., p. 379, E.T., "It was necessary that the Son of God, when He became incarnate, should not be born by ordinary generation. In order that his life might be human, He must be conceived and developed and born of a woman; but that it might be from its commencement sinless, a divine creative act must supplant that human act on which the commencement of any new life ordinarily depends. The Gospel narrative of the virgin-birth of Jesus exactly fulfils this dogmatic postulate." Müller refers also to Neander's *Leben Jesu*, pp. 16, 17. Schleiermacher's supposition of "an ordinary generation with a creative energy of God" leaves the miracle just where he found it. The question is one for criticism of the sources, which are silent as to the birth of a sinless man in the way of nature.

³ Luke i. 38.

(3) *The Son of Man.*

In course of time all who could have known, either by direct revelation or at second hand, from those who had received angelic visions, that Jesus was born of a virgin, died one after another, Elizabeth, Zechariah, Joseph, John the Baptist, all except the virgin mother herself. The tradition would probably have passed away from memory, if its place had not been filled by a mysterious name, which Jesus applied as the ordinary designation of Himself, and which, with one exception, that of the dying Stephen,¹ Jesus alone used. The title "Son of Man" occurs in the Gospels about seventy-six times. It was already used of Messiah in the Rabbinical "Book of Enoch," mainly in that portion that passed under the name of "The Similitudes." According to the latest editor, Charles, the definite title "Son of Man" is found in the "Book of Enoch" for the first time in Jewish literature, and its use there is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, contributing to it some of its most characteristic contents.² Charles thinks that the use of the title by our Lord must have been an enigma, not only to the people generally, but also to His immediate disciples, so much so that they shrank from using it.³ He explains it as being a combination of the Enoch conception of a supernatural being with the Isaiah conception of the servant of Jehovah. At the same time it is difficult not to ascribe to this title, as used by Jesus, the meaning which it has in the Book of Daniel,⁴ where the prophet had a vision of a human prince descending from heaven, and succeeding to kingdoms symbolized by four beasts. If we combine these sources of the conception, Jesus is the Son of man as the head of the human race, the typical and ideal Man. This meaning seems to have been first suggested by Schleiermacher. But it was adopted by "Neander, Tholuck,

¹ Acts vii. 56.² p. 51.³ p. 317.⁴ vii. 13.

Olshausen, Reuss, Beyschlag, Liddon, Westcott, Stanton.”¹ Grimm says that “Jesus designates Himself thus as the head of the human race, the one who both furnished the pattern of the perfect man and acted on behalf of all mankind.”² It means that He was head of humanity, and at the same time a sufferer for humanity. “The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.”³ It is right that the head of the race should act and suffer for the race. By so doing He became the High Priest, who, “being taken from among men, is appointed for men in things pertaining to God, that He may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins.”⁴ Thus, instead of disparaging Jesus, the title exalts Him to the same greatness as the parallel name—Son of God. Again, the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath, which was made for man:⁵ that is, man is lord of the Sabbath in his representative. And, as He is Lord of the Sabbath, the Son of Man is not subject to ascetic rules, as was the case with John the Baptist. “The Son of Man eateth and drinketh,”⁶ simply because His piety is nurtured through prayer and obedience to God, and He has no need to put Himself under artificial regulations for the growth of His personal religion. Again, “the Son of Man hath,” what God alone properly has, “power to forgive sins.”⁷ He is appointed by God as His own representative, because He is the representative of the sinner. We are told also that this power of forgiving sins is parallel with His authority to judge men. The Father “gave Him authority to execute judgment,” not because He is Son of God merely, but “because He is the Son of Man.”⁸ To the same purport it is said that “whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but who-

¹ Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 313.

² Mark x. 45.

⁶ Matt. xi. 19.

⁴ Heb. v. 1.

⁷ Mark ii. 10.

³ Cf. *Lex.*, s. v.

⁵ Mark ii. 27, 28.

⁸ John v. 27.

soever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him";¹ and that he "who hath trodden under foot the Son of God . . . hath done despite unto the Spirit of Grace";² leaving it to be inferred that the sin against the Son of Man is a failure to come up to His standard as the ideal man, and does not contain the element of scorn that makes the sin against the Son of God, that is the *spirit* of Jesus, such that there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin. The sin of the Apostle who had persecuted Jesus was like the sin of those who crucified Him, and for whom He Himself prayed that they might be forgiven. As the representative Man He is greater than Solomon or Jonah; yet heathens in Nineveh repented at the preaching of the latter, and a heathen queen came to see the glory of the former, while the greater One was put to death. Once more, when Jesus asked, "Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am?"³ Simon Peter answered that He was the Son of God; and Christ signally honours him as the recipient of a special revelation. The answer must have meant that the promised Messiah was the ideal Man, and that the ideal Man again was not to be found on earth, except in Him who was the personal Son of God. It is not until shortly before the close of His earthly life that Jesus, who always calls Himself Son of Man, acknowledges to Caiaphas that He was Son of the Highest. Yet, even at that moment, he adds that, though He was Son of God in the deep self-consciousness of His person, it is as Son of Man, the representative of men, that He wills to be known at the Judgment Day, as He has always said that "authority to execute judgment" has been given Him "because He is the Son of Man."⁴

¹ Matt. xii. 32.

² Heb. x. 29. I do not understand the word "spirit" here as a personal name. Or it may be used of the risen Christ, as in Rom. i. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 17.

³ Matt. xvi. 13.

⁴ John v. 27.

How does all this bear on the theology of Paul? The name "Son of Man" now disappears. Its place is occupied by another title, "Second Adam." The reason for the change lies in the universalism of Paul's doctrine, as it is an advance on the national, Judaic reference to the Messianic idea, to which the conception of "Son of Man" had narrowed itself, probably on the lips of Jewish Christians.¹

Among the most important passages in the whole range of Scripture to prove the necessity of the incarnation of God for the redemption of man are Romans v. 20, 21, and 1 Corinthians xv. 45-47. For our present purpose the important thing is that the head of the redemptive economy must be a man; God-Man, it is true, yet a real, actual man; and that this actual man is the person who was from eternity the ideal Man in the Godhead. It is in the light of this truth that we must regard Paul as the first teacher to suggest what science calls the Law of Heredity, and to apply it to theology. At first it cannot but be a source of serious difficulty to all who believe in the moral goodness of God's government of the world, that one man should be naturally subject to certain forms of disease because his ancestors have indulged in vice, or that one man may actually be a criminal in consequence of the crimes of his forefathers. Yet everybody at the present day admits the solidarity and oneness of the race. Theologians, since the time of Cocceius (d. 1669), have called the Law of Heredity a Covenant.² The advantage of the latter designation is simply that it implies the moral government of God in reference to the influence of one man's act on the character and destiny of many. The Apostle does not use either term, but simply the correlatives, "as—so." But he has one all-important element in his account, which is that

¹ Cf. the suggestive remarks of Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 340.

² Cf. his *Summa Doctrinæ de Foedere et Testamento Dei*. Opera, tom. vii.

one man was constituted the centre or head of the race in its moral, no less than its physical, affinities. That one man, he tells us, is the progenitor of all men. It is a Christian conception. "To the mind of antiquity," as Lotze¹ says, "the numerous races of men destined merely for the passing joy of life, and not for the accomplishment of tasks of eternal significance, may have sprung each from the soil of its native place, without original connexion. . . . It was Christian civilization that first developed with decisive clearness the thought that all nations made part of one whole, and that evolved from the concept of the human race the concept of *humanity*. . . . The name humanity expresses just this, that individuals . . . are preordained parts of a whole . . . that there is a vast, coherent, providential governance of the universe, which, between the extreme terms of creation and judgment, allows no part of what happens to escape the unity of its purpose. While Christianity developed this conviction, it at the same time connected it with the Hebrew account of man's origin." It is true that scientific investigation cannot be said to have as yet arrived at any certain conclusion as to either the one or the plural origin of mankind. Ethnographical, and especially philological, investigations tend to the former conclusion. But the Pauline theory need not wait for any such decision of science in favour of the original unity of the race. It is sufficient if all mankind form a real commonwealth because they have identical thoughts and aspirations, whether they started on the common road from one historical origin or not. "Adam" may be a name for man, even if it has no reference to an individual man who was placed in Eden. Even supposing the Apostle to be mistaken in adopting as history the Hebrew account of man's origin, this will by no means invalidate the

¹ Lotze, *Microcosmus*, vol. ii., bk. vii., chap. iv. (E.T.).

argument of the Epistle to the Romans. In fact, the myth may be, we do not say it always is, the most natural form in which a great theological theory can be embedded. Men are educated to truth, as Plato¹ tells us, through illusions, that is, through imagination. This ought not to present a difficulty to any one who admits that our Lord "taught in parables." The question, whether an account is historical or mythical is matter for critical investigation, in reference to every particular case, as it arises. While, therefore, it would be unjust to press the story of Paradise into an argument, it can well take its place as the matrix of a true theology. Even so orthodox a theologian as Dr. Charles Hodge² says that it is futile to base the doctrine of original sin on any speculations as to the origin of the soul. He is right. Whether every soul is a direct creation of God, or is derived from the parents, according to the Traducian theory, the question of natural depravity remains untouched. If so, the unity of men's origin in reference to their bodily constitution is equally immaterial to the problem of the moral identity of the race.

The fact of imputation is indubitable, however difficult it may be to explain its justice. We know of no hypothesis that makes a fair attempt to answer the question, other than the doctrine that God governs and must govern the race through its representative, or, in St. Paul's words, "that through one man sin entered into the world and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned,"³ that is, in the one man who was the representative and whose actual sin was reckoned or imputed to those whose representative he was and who did not sin actually in their own persons. Again, "through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners,"⁴

¹ *Rep.*, iii. 393, αὐτοὶ δ' ἂν τῷ αὐστηροτέρῳ καὶ ἀηδεστέρῳ ποιητῇ χρῆμεθα καὶ μυθολογῶν ὠφελείας ἕνεκα κ.τ.λ.

² *Syst. Theol.*, vol. ii., chap. iii.

³ *Rom.* v. 12.

⁴ *Rom.* v. 19. The term used by the Apostle is κατεστάθησαν, not ἐγένοντο.

as the result, not of their actual disobedience, but of his. Whatever else Cocceius' important hypothesis of Covenant in St. Paul's writings means, it must involve that the first Adam is primarily the representative of the race. If he sins, we sin in him. As it has been forcibly put, "The fall of man affected a whole world as an entire kingdom falls with its king."

But together with Christianity came the consciousness in man of higher needs than had been satisfied through the first, earthy Adam, a yearning for gifts and blessings of a more spiritual kind; not merely the restoration of what had been lost, but the attainment of new endowments and potentialities, which could only be brought about through a new Covenant to be centred in a Second Adam, the Man from heaven. These blessings consisted in redemption, communion with God, the consciousness of having other gifts than what man could obtain as a member of a privileged nationality, willingness to sacrifice the present life in order to gain the higher life thereby. These Christian aspirations made him humble and brought him to desire *personal* communion with the head of the Covenant. Hitherto the connection of one's life with the Adam was a theory more than an experience: a necessary presupposition of theology that did not enter into men's thoughts and had very little influence on their life. For they felt conscious of a power to accomplish the ordinary purposes for which they lived on earth, and, when they failed, they blamed themselves, and not Adam; or rather pitied themselves; for no man repents of original sin. But now their aims soared higher than earth, and, conscious of inability to master the problems of the spiritual life, they felt their need of a Second Adam, to supply all grace, to hear all prayers, to bless with every blessing, and to become their personal

It was the forensic act of God not the merely natural result. Cf. James iv. 4.

friend and Saviour. Hence the economy of Grace must be *centred* in one man. Whether the origin of the human race is one or plural, the origin of the new spiritual race—in other words, the Christian Church—cannot but be derived from one source, even from Christ Jesus alone. For this reason the Apostle's theory of the Second Adam is in one respect different from his theory of man's fall. The latter depended upon the act of a far-off progenitor, which one may or may not have heard of; whereas the way of salvation is simply one's act of faith directed to the person of the God-Man. Hence the necessity for the revelation of Christ as He who can attract the sinner to Himself by the beauty of his human character, as well as redeem him as the second Adam. The incarnation is demanded not only by human guilt but also by Christian humility and faith.

We have said that God's government assumes the form of Covenants. We further add that the one Covenant exists for the sake of the other. Science has no gracious account to give of the Law of Heredity, and nature is "red in tooth and claw." It is only the higher gift of faith in the revelation of a better Covenant that helps a man to be dumb and open not his mouth, but always to believe in a beneficent Creator. When, however, the further revelation of God's designs enters in, it is found that the two revelations are, after all, one and the same system of government. God has really but one plan. Creation, providence, redemption, salvation, are all revealed in Christ.

We may be inclined to think by this time that St. Paul's theology springs from his Christology: in fact, that the centre around which all his ideas turn is, not anthropology and soteriology, or redemption of fallen man through atonement, but deeper than all this, the revelation of God through the incarnation of his Son. While the present writer would firmly maintain the doctrine of the redemptive death on the Cross, the truth of the self-revelation of God

in the face of Jesus Christ is prior in order and idea, not only to redemption, but even to sin itself. "The emanation of his own infinite fulness was aimed at by God as the last end of creation." In this declaration of Jonathan Edwards¹ we all concur. Redemption is a means, and a gracious, glorious means, springing out of God's infinite love and planned by His manifold wisdom, for the attainment of this, the chief end of creation. We cannot suppose that the realization of God's chief end depended on the contingency of man's fall. God's "disposition to communicate Himself" would, undoubtedly, have led Him to reveal Himself to His sinless creatures, and that through His Son, "the image of the invisible God and the firstborn of all creation."

It would, therefore, seem that, before we can attain to a clear conception of Paul's theology, we must place at its deepest foundation the doctrine that the Son of God must become man, even if sin had not been permitted to enter into the world.

In 1 Corinthians xv. 45-47, the Apostle speaks of the Second Adam as "the Man from heaven." Meyer, Weiss, Pfleiderer, and other expositors, explain the words to mean that Christ acquires a glorified body in heaven after His resurrection and comes in that body at the *parousia* or second coming. But the words *ἐκ γῆς*, used of the first Adam, must express his original state. It is therefore probable that *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* will mean the second Adam's original state; and so also Athanasius² explains *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* as tantamount to *ἐπουράνιος*, and both these terms as signifying that the Logos descended from heaven. Further, the Second Adam is not said to acquire a new body in heaven, but to change the body of His humiliation into a glorified condition.³ Again, the words "from heaven"

¹ *God's Chief End in Creation*, ch. i., sect. ii. *ad fin.*

² *Or. I. c. Ariqn.*, § 44.

³ *Phil. iii. 21.*

cannot refer to the incarnation; for Paul says¹ that Christ, as to his human nature, was "born of a woman." The idea of the passage is the principle of change, exemplified in the resurrection. The body that dies is physical; at the resurrection it will become a spiritual body. The change, however, is effected, not by evolution, but by the action from without of a personal, spiritual force; for the Second Adam is "a quickening spirit." And as He is the "last Adam" when He effects this change, He is so because He was the first Man. He is the Omega because he was the Alpha. The inference is that the Apostle speaks of Christ as to His heavenly origin. But, as we saw before, he cannot mean that His body was actually from heaven. He must mean, therefore, that He is the ideal Man, eternally in God, as Archetype of humanity. Again, the Apostle says "that God will sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth."² The word *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι* implies "that a dislocation in the original constitution of the world has taken place by sin."³ The God-Man has been constituted the centre of God's created universe, and, as Meyer, Ellicott, Von Soden, and many other expositors explain the verse, the *ἀνα-* is an allusion to a state of previous unity. When were all things previously united under one *κεφάλαιον*, if not ideally in the original divine-humanity of the Son of God?⁴

But this does not of necessity involve that the Eternal Logos would become incarnate. The revelation of God might still be mediated without the incarnation. This, we presume, is Calvin's view,⁵ that "even if man had remained free from all sin he was of too humble a condition to penetrate to God without a Mediator"; and he holds that "in

¹ Gal. iv. 4.

² Eph. i. 10.

³ Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of the N. T.*, vol. ii. § 103 (E. T.).

⁴ For a good *résumé* of interpretations of the verse in the Fathers, cf. Petavius, *De Incarn.*, II. viii.

⁵ *Inst.*, II. xii. 1.

the first ordering of creation, while the state of nature was entire, Christ was appointed head of angels and of men."

We must admit that the subject of an incarnation apart from sin is not clearly revealed in Scripture. It may appear to many that we are intruding beyond what is written. The Biblical expressions that refer to it cannot, unfairly, be explained by what has been said concerning an original and ideal humanity of the divine Son. What we should strongly deprecate is the opinion held by a certain school of idealists, that evil is the universally necessary condition of the development of good. For this would imply that Jesus Himself "bears the sins and sorrows of men," not only by sympathy or "in some other theological meaning," but "as an immediate and personal experience."

It has been held by Dorner¹ that Irenæus thought that Christ would have become incarnate apart from sin. The passage seems to us to refer to what we have called the archetypal Logos as He was in God. Augustine² gave his verdict against the theory of incarnation apart from sin. The question after this fell into abeyance till it was resuscitated by the schoolmen. A considerable number of them decided in favour of the doctrine. It was discussed by Thomas Aquinas.³ He finally goes against it, though he admits it was possible, and maintains that the incarnation was the consummation of the universe.

The name of John Wessel deserves special mention. He died in 1489.⁴ Calvin⁵ condemns the opinion in allusion

¹ *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, div. i., vol. i., p. 317 foll. (E.T.). The passage he refers to is Iren. V. xvi. § 2, ἐν γὰρ ἀόρατος ἦν ὁ Ἀδύτος, οὐ κατ' ἐκδόνα ὁ ἀρθρωτος ἐγενόνατο, "For the Logos was yet invisible, after whose image man had been made." Cf. Petavius, *De Incarn.*, II. xvii.

² Vol. X., *Serm.* viii., and *Serm.* ix., "Quare venit in mundum peccatores salvos facere? Alia causa non fuit quare veniret in mundum."

³ Oosterzee (*The Person and Work of the Redeemer*, p. 78, E.T.) is mistaken in reckoning Aquinas in favour. Cf. *Summa*, P. III., Q. i., Art. iii., "Si homo non peccasset, Deus incarnatus non fuisset." But cf. also P. III., Q. ii., Art. viii.

⁴ See Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*, vol. ii., p. 445 sqq.

⁵ *Inst.* ii., chap. xii., § 4-7.

to Osiander, and, to say the least, with too great asperity. Martensen¹ decides in favour of the doctrine and raises into notice some of the arguments which Aquinas put aside, such as that it was befitting for God to communicate Himself to His creatures in the perfect union of God with man. He argues that the most glorious thing in the world, the Incarnation, cannot be conceived as attained through the medium of sin. This argument will influence different men in different ways. Richard of St. Victor,² following Augustine, speaks of sin as *felix culpa*, because it has been followed by God's incarnation, and certainly it must be confessed that it manifests the surpassing greatness of God's love. Martensen argues also that the Logos incarnate is the centre of the universe. But this, on which Wessel also lays stress, may be met by the statement that the Logos is already before His incarnation centre of the whole creation. Dorner again accepts the theory; and the argument that prevails with the present writer is what he mentions, that Christ will be the God-Man for ever, when the work of redeeming His people from sin and all its consequences shall have been completed. His exalted humanity cannot be supposed to continue in existence for no purpose. He must be God-Man to all eternity, not to redeem His people, but to reveal God. But, if His human nature reveals God when His redemptive work is finished, does not this imply that He would have assumed our nature actually, if there had been no redemption needed, as He had been from eternity ideally and archotypically man? "If the God-Man," asks Dorner,³ "is part of the absolute religion, even after sin has been vanquished, must He not be willed eternally

¹ *Dogmatics*, § 181.

² Herzog, *R.E. für Prot. Theol.*, iii. 380.

³ *Syst. of Christian Doctrine*, vol. ii., p. 218 (E.T.); *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 80 (E.T.). Dorner cites Luther as saying, "That it was an honour, not a dishonour, to the Son of God to be man."

and absolutely, and not merely on account of sin?" But we may mention the name of a pre-eminent critic and dogmatic theologian, who is more likely to command our respect for any theory which he may advocate than perhaps any writer of this age. We refer to Bishop Westcott, who has the following remarks in an essay on "The Gospel of Creation," inserted in his Exposition of the First Epistle of John: "The thought that the Incarnation was part of the Divine purpose in Creation opens unto us, as I believe, wider views of the wisdom of God than we commonly embrace, which must react upon life. It presents to us the highest manifestation of Divine love as answering to the idea of man, and not as dependent upon that which lay outside the Father's will. It reveals to us how the Divine purpose is fulfilled in unexpected and unimaginable ways in spite of man's selfishness and sin," etc.¹ The alternative is to suppose that man attains perfection through the operation of the Holy Spirit. But, apart from other difficulties, we repeat the question, why should the Son of God retain for ever His human nature?

(iii.) Another New Testament doctrine is that Christ is the representative or ideal Man. It derives its theological value from the wider and deeper doctrine of the Second Adam of which we have already spoken. It appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which, however, there is no hint of Paul's doctrine of the two heads of the race, and, for this reason, we do not find in that Epistle the doctrine of a covenant of works, much less the thought that the Mosaic Dispensation is that covenant. The Epistle to the Hebrews represents the old economy as a rudimentary form of the covenant of Grace. But there is a clear statement of the conception that Jesus was the ideal Man in Hebrews ii. 5-9. In the very bosom of Judaism a prophet speaks in a Psalm of the infinitely great and holy

¹ *Epistles of John*, p. 238.

God coming near to man,—the transcendent God becoming the immanent God. To a Greek the notion might be commonplace. For his gods were but idealized men. The words "man" and "son of man" must refer, in the first instance, to human weakness and littleness, not to the excellence and superiority of his nature. But, in the second instance, man has been crowned king and made "little short" of angels.¹ The writer of the Epistle declares that the prophet's words are verified only in the Man Jesus. Some expositors consider the eighth Psalm to be Messianic, and to refer directly to Christ, as St. Paul seems to have applied it in 1 Corinthians xv. 27. But it is inconceivable that the prophet should have wondered at God's condescension in casting an eye of pity and visiting with kindness the Man Christ Jesus. Our Lord Himself, in the days of His flesh, never gives expression to any feeling of wondering thankfulness that God vouchsafes to notice him. In fact, the use He made of the same Psalm is just the opposite. He sees² in the children, who strawed His way with palm branches, the fulfilment of the prophecy, that God would perfect praise out of the mouth of babes. He thus, in some sense, identifies Himself with Jehovah, who has put all things in subjection to man. There cannot be much doubt that the Psalm is not Messianic. It is a hymn of praise to God, whose thoughts are so utterly different from our thoughts. God makes this weakling (*e'nosh*) to have dominion, as His vicegerent, over all the works of His hands. The Fathers give the same interpretation. Calvin and Bengel agree that the Psalm describes the exaltation of humanity. So far as observation and experience go, the prophecy has not yet been fulfilled. Man is not king of the universe. He is

"Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all."

The writer of the Epistle argues that the prophet speaks

¹ Cf. Jennings and Lowe, *On the Psalms*, Ps. viii. ² Matt. xxii. 15.

of Christ, and of Christ, not as Messiah, but as the Representative or ideal Man. "We see not yet all things subjected" to man. The incarnation is already in God's mind; but it is hid—the very idea which we meet with so often in Paul's epistles, and which he calls "the mystery." The subjection of the universe to man is attained by the Man Jesus, whom the author has already described as "the Son, the effulgence of God's glory and the very image of His substance." He may be referring specially to the subjection of man to natural laws, whereas the Ideal Man has complete command over nature. Miracles were natural to Him, and He never appears to exert power in doing them. It would be more correct to say that He exerted power over Himself in refraining. Even from this point of sight, the passage successfully meets the modern objection to the doctrine of the Incarnation, that the entrance into the sphere of nature of a perfectly new element is inconceivable. Christ is not outside nature in its idea, but only in its sinful actuality.¹ Or the author may have required for his subsequent reasoning the statement that in Christ man has abolished death, not, indeed, as a physical fact, but in its ethical import. Satan, who had the power of death, must be destroyed. The deliverance of man must involve Christ's own perfecting through participation in blood and flesh, temptations and the suffering of death. The development of the universe to its final goal is subservient to the ultimate and sovereign purpose of Christ. Exclude the Representative Man from nature, the Son of God from creation, and the universe has no ethical end and teleological purpose.

Such, we understand, is the Scriptural argument for the incarnation derived from the conception of Christ as the Ideal Man. So far as the present writer has been able to

¹ Cf. Canon Gore, *Dampton Lectures for 1891, Lect. ii.*

trace it, the doctrine that God's idea of man is realized in Christ is first explicitly taught by Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹ It forms the foundation of his Christology. This will appear the more remarkable when we bear in mind the frequent declaration of the early apologists that God made all things for the sake of man. They probably borrowed this thought from the Stoics, not from Scripture, and they use it, as the Stoics did, to prove Divine providence. At least, they do not infer from it the necessity for the Incarnation, as the Epistle to the Hebrews does.²

But, while Scripture uses the conception of Christ as the ideal Man, either, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in connection with His priestly claims and atoning death, or, as in Paul's theology, in connection with the governmental relation and as the Second Adam, it has been recently employed, independently of these connexions, to describe Jesus as claiming divine sonship for Himself, not in a unique sense, but as the representative of all men.³ On this theory we venture to make the following remarks:—

(1) Christ is not, on this doctrine, the archetypal, but only the representative, Man. He is only what every man may become. But this is not a satisfactory account of the matter as it is stated in Scripture. For example, Christ is said to be "the only begotten from the Father,"⁴ and "the only-begotten Son," or, according to the best attested reading,⁵ "God only-begotten." In what sense can any other man be called only-begotten Son or only-begotten God? In what sense can any other man claim equality

¹ Cf. Dorner, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 43 sqq.

² Cf. *Ep. ad. Diogn.*, x. 2, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡγάπησε, δι' οὗ ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οὗς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ κ.τ.λ.

³ Cf. Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, vol. ii., p. 139.

⁴ John i. 14, ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 18, μονογενὴς θεός. This is the reading accepted by Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, after the two best manuscripts B and N, and it is inserted in the margin of the Revised Version as being the reading of "many very ancient authorities." Tischendorf prefers υἱός, after A.

with God? ¹ We are told by an eloquent author "that we, indeed, cannot, like Christ, renounce heaven for earth." ² But the Apostle represents Christ as doing so, and therefore He cannot be a *mere* example, nor *merely* the firstborn among many brethren.

(2) This theory objects to everything in Christianity and in the New Testament that appears catastrophic or apocalyptic. But has it explained the appearance of such a man as Jesus? Has He evolved Himself out of Judaism? Or is He not to be regarded as Himself, though promised and predicted, the really most unexpected phenomenon of the ages? Is His moral perfection explained on natural principles? Strauss even admits it is not. It is equally incapable of accounting for the assumption of the New Testament that sin is an evil which will never develop into good, but will ever tend to greater evil until removed by the sacrifice of the Cross, which is therefore not merely the perfecting of Christ Himself personally, but the redemption of believers. St. Paul preaches the doctrine of imputed and imparted righteousness as the effect of faith. We are not surprised, therefore, that the upholders of this theory regard St. Paul's doctrine as marring the truth by "conceiving the dawn of the new life as a sudden conversion, produced by a foreign influence which descends upon man from above," ³ whereas the fact is that Paul's own life and experience are the effect of a sudden conversion, as Weizsäcker fully admits. ⁴

(3) The advocates of the theory acknowledge that in the Apostle Paul's teaching there begins a kind of separation of Christ from humanity and a kind of identification of Him with God. "In this way," we are told, the Apostle "seemed

¹ Phil. ii. 6, τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ.

² Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, vol. ii. p. 218.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴ *The Apostolic Age*, p. 79 sqq., E.T. [Theol. Trans. Library], "Great religious changes are to a very large extent the work of a moment."

to deny that union between the human and divine which was the essential lesson of the gospel of Jesus."¹ But the Incarnation of God in one man will not destroy the idea of the self-realization by means of self-sacrifice, which is the religious perfecting of every man that can accomplish it, any more than it does away with the indwelling of the Spirit. The Apostle Paul regards the Incarnation as an ethical truth and the greatest possible example of self-sacrifice simply because of the infinite distance between the form of a servant and the form of God. The same writer proceeds: "We are under a debt to the narrow Jewish Church which is greater even than our debt to St. Paul, because it did not pass away till it gathered together the records of the early life of Jesus."² The writer seems to think that the Synoptical Gospels did not contain universalistic elements, as if St. Mark were not the interpreter of Peter, and as if St. Luke had not discovered Pauline ideas in the life and teaching of Jesus, and as if it were not the fact that the Ebionite churches passed away just because they failed to realize the fundamental religious conception of Jesus, "Die to Live." In the Gospels probably the only things we owe to the Judæo-Christian Church are the *λογία κυρίου*, ascribed by Papias to Matthew.³ That in our Gospel of St. Matthew a "full-blown universalism" exists is not to be denied.⁴ The Book of Revelation is Judæo-Christian in origin, and yet it rose above Ebionitism, and taught the same theology as the Apostles John and Paul.

Martineau, again, who, however, is by no means to be identified with the advocates of the theory just mentioned, argues that the humanitarian view of Jesus gives Him greater influence as an example than the supposition that

¹ Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, p. 214.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ Cf. Müller, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 84.

⁴ Matt. xxviii, 16-20. Cf. Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 463.

He was the God-Man. We admit the power of this conception, and the only explanation of its not being used to enforce the example of our Lord seems to be simply that it is not true. The Apostle James speaks of the prophets as examples of suffering and patience, and reminds us that Elias was a man of like passions with ourselves, that is, that he was "mere man" (*ἄνθρωπος ψιλός*), evidently to strengthen the force of his example.¹ But the Epistle to the Hebrews does not say that Jesus was a mere man when He resisted unto blood, striving against sin.² On the other hand, the writer does not in this passage say that He was the Son of God, the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance. Surely the reason for his silence must be that He desires to give his readers to understand that He who had been in the form of God had now emptied Himself of all that which would have lifted Him above temptation. It was necessary for Him, no less than other men, to endure suffering. So the force of Christ's example comes back in another way, not by denying his real Deity, but by the implication that He who had been from eternity the effulgence of God's glory had through incarnation divested Himself of the form of God. The author was under the influence of St. Paul's ideas. But this is not all. Men had lost the very conception of what a perfect moral character is. In learning geometry the student requires at least the correct idea of a perfect circle. In the same way Christianity professes to hold Jesus before the world as a perfect example of goodness. He is not only a brave Man struggling against terrible odds, and that with marvellous courage, but He is an actual, concrete embodiment of all that God considers morally beautiful and good. This necessary element, the conception of what we may call "a perfect cube without a flaw," is and must be wanting in all humanitarian views of Christ's Person.

¹ James v. 10-17.

² Heb. xii. 2-4.

We maintain, therefore, that Jesus Christ is the Logos of God and, at the same time, that, because He has emptied Himself of the form of God and assumed instead of it the form of a servant, the divine perfection and greatness, which have now become His own ideal, are to be won by Him as the reward of human efforts and suffering. This is the addition made by the Epistle to the Hebrews to the theology of the incarnation.

T. C. EDWARDS.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE TALMUD.

My apology for drawing attention to a subject that is so offensive to Christian feeling as the dicta of the Jews with regard to our Lord and His Mother, must be found in scientific necessity and a desire for historical enlightenment. I have not the least wish to provoke a feeling of resentment against the ancient people of God on account of their hostility to the Christian faith and its Founder. Whatever we may think of the first forms of that hostility, its continuance and intensification are largely due to the injustice which they have suffered at the hands of priests and princes, and which they are in many places still suffering. The wonder is, not that the Jews should have hated the Christians, but that they should not have hated them more. And certainly we have not the smallest thought of hindering the coming reconciliation, of which there are so many signs in our own time, by dwelling upon distasteful or offensive language of earlier days.

But we must not neglect any branch of study which may throw light upon the genesis of modern beliefs; and it seems probable that renewed study of the Talmud may bring us unexpected scientific results. So large a mountain ought to produce more than the proverbial mouse. We

should not be content with saying that its chronology is baseless and its legends inexplicable, and that nothing can be added, therefrom to the history of the world's beliefs except a little local or ecclesiastical colour, by which the parables of the Founder of the Christian faith or the ritual of His followers may be made more intelligible. A modern critic will certainly not be satisfied with such a poverty of results.

There are signs of renewed activity and of fresh results in the study of the Talmud. Two modern tracts are before me which are an evidence of this; both of them are written, in the first instance, as religious polemics; but they may help to take us further than polemics. The one is Professor Pranaitis' Collection of Jewish Statements affecting Christ and Christianity (*Christianus in Talmude Iudæorum*, Petropoli, 1892); the other Mr. Streane's translation of Laible's *Christus im Talmud* (Camb., 1893). The latter work, especially, in consequence of Mr. Streane's able presentation, has attracted a good deal of notice. I have learnt something from both these books, and the latter has been especially instructive to me.

At the same time one lays down Laible's book with a feeling of disappointment if not of resentment. The author is often as artificial as he professes to find his sources to be, and indulges in the most far-fetched explanations in order to elucidate his Talmudical riddles. What are we to think of a defender of Christianity who tells us that the reason why the Talmud attributes five disciples to our Lord lies in the fact that Christ had five wounds, and who quotes a verse of a German hymn to the five wounds in support of his explanation?

But it is just because so much of this work (and something of the same kind is true of Pranaitis) is unsatisfactory that one is anxious that when real results have been arrived at, or at all events adumbrated, by these two Talmud

scholars, they should not be lost sight of, although so much else that may be brought forward is *nihil ad rem*.

I propose, therefore, to make one or two remarks which will show what the Jews thought of the mother of our Lord, and help us to understand the Talmudic treatment of that subject.

In my *Apology of Aristides* I have already explained why Jesus is called in the Talmud the son of a mythical Roman soldier, Pandera, the name being an anagram of the Greek Parthenos (the Virgin), as had already been seen by Nitzsch, though I was not aware of his explanation, upon which I had lighted independently. I only allude to it here by way of reminding the student that the Talmud will not be intelligible unless we understand the use of anagram, of Gematria, and similar literary devices; assonance, too, and the substitution of corresponding letters for one another must also be watched for, if we are to get at the back of the texts as they now stand. I do not profess to be much of a Talmudic scholar, but at least I know enough to make these preliminary instructions.

We will now discuss one or two Talmudic references to the Virgin Mary. The first describes our Lord as—

THE SON OF MARY, THE WOMAN'S HAIRDRESSER.

Suppose, then, we have to deal with those statements in the Talmud which tell us that Jesus was the Son of Mary, the woman's hairdresser. Is this history or is it romance? According to Laible, the Talmud (*Shabbath*, 10*b*, and other places) expressly makes this statement; and Laible's explanation is that the Jews had heard Christians speak of Mary Magdalene, who was a great sinner, and that they (i.) identified her with the blessed Virgin; (ii.) interpreted the name Magdalene to be *Megaddela*, i.e., the woman plaiting, from whence it was easy to deduce the last form of the statement, that the mother of Jesus was a wicked

woman, who was engaged in the not very honourable occupation of dressing other women's hair. Thus by a parody, says Laible, out of Miriam, the woman of Magdala, there came Míriam, a woman's hairdresser.

Now I imagine that to most readers this will sound very fanciful; they will not think it likely that the Jews should have confused our Lord's disciple with his mother, nor will they think that this ingenious derivation can have been involved in the simple statement of Mary's daily occupation. And if history is presented in this way, with such conscious and unconscious confusion, they will despair of history. Nevertheless, it may be shown that on both points Laible is right, and we shall point out from a study of Christian documents, (i.) that Mary Magdalene was explained as the plaiting woman; (ii.) that she was commonly identified with the blessed Virgin. For both points we turn to the Syrian fathers, who are known to have had such close relations with Judaism, not only because they were contiguous to Palestine, and nearly consanguine and almost absolutely collingual with the Jews, but because they kept up friendly relations with the Jews who dwelt amongst them long after the Western world had finally broken the ancient ties.

Now the Syrian commentators are much exercised to explain why Mary Magdalene was so called; they did not apparently know of any town of Magdala to which to refer her (though, if they had known of such a place, they certainly would not have shared Laible's fanciful theory that the Jews were unwilling to allow that the mother of Jesus was born in a place whence so many famous rabbis were sprung); but they speculated as to what *tower* (*migdol*) it could be that she was named after. Some said it was the tower of Astrat (Cæsarea Stratonis), some the tower of Siloam; some suggested that she built herself a tower by the wages of infamy, and lived therein; others that she

built a mystical tower of righteousness through her penitence, on which she ascended to heaven. Let us hear now the summary which Bar-Salibi gives of the philological investigation. "She was called Magdalene because she inhabited the tower of Astrat, or the tower of Shiloah ; or from *plaited*, because *her hair was plaited*."

Here then we have the very derivation which Laible has assumed in his explanation of the Talmudic statement that Jesus was the son of Miriam, the woman's hairdresser. So that we may boldly replace the words "woman's hairdresser" by the name Magdalene, from which they are derived. Jesus, therefore, according to the Talmud, was the Son of Mary Magdalene.

Now, for the second point, we must not be too hard on the Jews if we find that they have made a mistaken identification which is shared with them by the Syrian Fathers. It is a strange mistake to us, because time and teaching, homiletics and Christian art have differentiated the two most famous of the Marys. But in the beginning this was not so. We shall show first that so careful a student of Scripture as Ephrem Syrus made the same confusion in his Commentary upon the Diatessaron.

For example, we find him saying (ed. Mösinger, p. 54), when discussing the precipitancy of Mary's conduct at the marriage feast in Cana, that the same undue haste was shown after the resurrection. "*Ita et post victoriam ab eo de inferis reportatam quum mater eum videret, qua mater eum amplexari voluit.*" The reference is clearly to the scene in the garden where the Magdalene would have held our Lord by the feet, and was deterred by the words, "Touch me not." A more striking case of the same confusion (p. 29) will be found in the comment upon the words, "A sword shall pierce through thy own soul also." The passage is somewhat obscure in Mösinger, partly through bad editing, and partly, perhaps, because it has been some-

what changed in the course of its transmission. According to Mössinger, then, we read :

Pertransibit gladius, i.e., negatio. Sed Græcus clare dicit : Revelentur in multis cordibus cogitationes nimirum eorum qui dubitabant. (Et quod dicit : *Pertransibit gladius*, i.e., et tu dubitabis ; quia scilicet [Maria] credidit eum esse hortulanum). Admirabatur enim, aiunt, Maria et de nativitate et de conceptione et quare peperit, et nonnulli, admirantes verbum eius, confortabantur ; alii vero erant, qui de eo dubitarent.

Here Mössinger brackets a whole sentence on the ground that the words are a gloss ; wrongly, as we shall see, for they contain a key word to the understanding of the comment, viz., the word *dubitabis*, which recurs in the latter part of the quotation, and was, doubtless, in some form or other, a part of Tatian's text. So that, if there is a gloss in the passage, it is the words which tell us that the reading of the Greek is "that thoughts in many hearts may be revealed." Setting this on one side, we have an underlying text to the effect "that there shall be doubts in many hearts," with a comment upon it to the effect that the sword which pierced Mary's heart was doubt. For (i.) she doubted whether he was the gardener ; (ii.) she spoke of the marvels of her personal experience ; some marvelled with her and some *doubted*.

The confusion then, in Ephrem's mind, between Mary Magdalene and the Blessed Virgin is sufficiently obvious.¹

We have now shown that so great a teacher as Ephrem was capable of making the identification of Mary Mag-

¹ It is very interesting to find that the Syrian commentator, Isho'dad, reproduces this comment of Ephrem, along with the underlying text of Tatian, which has dropped out in the Armenian, for he says as follows :

"*Mar Ephrem*. The sword shall pass through thy own soul also that there may be divided [or, may doubt] many cogitations from the hearts, those namely that doubted ; i.e., thou also shalt doubt concerning Him, for she was astonished at His marvels and told them to others, and they were set free from doubts concerning Him."

Isho'dad, however, omits the confusion between the two Marys.

dalene and the mother of Jesus; and we need not then wonder if we find a similar confusion in the Talmud. It appears, therefore, that Laible has rightly interpreted the Talmudic references to the woman's hairdresser who was the mother of Jesus. I pass on to another passage—

THE VIRGIN MARY IN HELL.

Laible quotes, though without pressing an identification, a passage in the Talmud which represents a certain Mary as tormented in hell. Indeed Laible does not think an identification possible of this Mary with the Virgin. His language is as follows :

The Talmud itself makes it clear that this Mary is not the mother of Jesus : otherwise it would have substituted a different transgression on her part from that of an irreligious practice of fasting. In the Jerusalem *Chagiga*, 77*d*, a devout person relates that he saw in a dream various punishments in hell. He saw also Miriam, the daughter of Eli Betzalim, suspended, as R. Lazar ben Jose says, by the paps of her breasts. R. Jose ben Chanina says, the hinge of hell's gate was fastened in her ear. He said to them [? the angels of punishment], why is this done to her ? The answer was, because she fasted and published the fact. Others said, because she fasted one day, and counted two days (of feasting) as a set off. He asked them, "How long shall she be so ? They answered him, until Shim'on ben Shetach comes ; then we shall take it out of her ear and put it in his ear.

This extraordinary passage certainly requires some elucidation, for it is extremely improbable that the Talmud should make mention of special torments assigned to a woman who had made some error in the matter of fasting. Who is this Miriam, the daughter of Eli Betzalim ? The first clue lies in the fact that in the genealogy of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke, which was often said to be Mary's genealogy, the first stage is *Heli*. And a little scrutiny will show that the perplexing Betzalim is only a disguise (perhaps to avoid the Censor of the Inquisition) of the words, *Im tzalib, the mother of the crucified*. We therefore read the passage thus : He saw Miriam, the daughter of

Eli, the mother of the crucified, suspended by the paps of her breasts.

Having made this explanation, much that follows is clear: she is hanged by the breasts, as a curse antithetic to the blessing in the gospel which a woman in the crowd uttered with regard to the mother of Christ. And further, the hinge of the gate of hell is fastened in her ear, because in the early legends of the Incarnation the conception of Christ was through the ear of the Virgin. Mr. Conybeare has brought forward in his letters to the *Academy* so many instances of this early belief that it is almost superfluous to add to them. But those who are interested in the subject may perhaps care to be reminded that this view of the conception is very common in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (*e.g.*, Wright, *Syriac Acts of John*, p. 14, He entered by the ear of the woman; p. 26, He entered by the ear of the Virgin; p. 33, He entered by the ear of the Virgin Mary, etc.).

So much being clear, we have now to consider the crime for which Mary was tormented, "she fasted and published it." I feel morally certain that there is some anagram or esoteric meaning underlying this word "fasted"; but at present I do not see what the word is; and so must be content to leave the matter. The Talmud has many secrets to tell if we only had the key to its language and expression; as far, however, as we have gone in the two or three instances before us, we do not seem to have arrived at any fresh sources for the actual history. We do, however, arrive at some very interesting results with regard to the opinions of the Jews. They seem to be second-hand reflections from Christian beliefs. The Pandera story was provoked by the honour which Christians paid to the Virgin at a very early period. The confusion between Mary Magdalene and the Blessed Virgin appears to have been due, in the first instance, to Christian misinterpretation of

the Gospels. The torment of Mary in hell shows signs of the influence of the genealogy in Luke, and almost takes the miraculous birth for a fact ; otherwise why the torment, and why the hinge of hell in her ear? So that if we do not extract the history of events, we make a real contribution to the history of opinions.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

JEREMIAH: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

V. RETRIBUTION.

JEREMIAH may be said to have been the conscience of his generation. The consciences of his contemporaries were blunted and seared, and this was the reason of their ruin ; but, as in an ill-doing family there may be a brother or sister in whose gentle heart all the shame and pain accumulate which the others do not feel, so the prophet was the sensitive centre in which the sin of the age was fully felt.

One function of the conscience is to reveal the moral ideal ; and Jeremiah held up to his fellow-countrymen the image of their own life as God intended it to be. Another function of conscience is, when the ideal is infringed, to insist on the wrong which has been committed ; and Jeremiah was so incessantly pointing to the particular faults by which the law of God was contravened that we can still see in his pages all the abuses of the time. But conscience has a further function : when sin has been committed, it gives warning of punishment ; and perhaps the most prominent feature in the work of Jeremiah is the denunciation of Divine retribution about to fall on those who have sinned.

The truth is written on every human conscience that

suffering will be the consequence of sin, while peace and prosperity must accompany obedience. Persons in whom conscience is naturally dull, and still more those in whom it has been impaired by constant abuse, may feel the force of this truth but feebly; but it is one of the marks of a living conscience that it makes this faith the guide of life; and men of ethical genius have their whole thinking dominated by it. Thus Isaiah gives it expression in the broadest possible terms: "Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked; it shall be ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him." So in the first Psalm the principle is laid down as a kind of key to hundreds of expressions which follow in the Psalter, that the man who obeys the voice of God shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water; "but the ungodly are not so, but are like the chaff which the wind carrieth away."

It is possible, indeed, to interpret this principle too narrowly and literally. The entire book of Job is a protest against too hastily drawing from it the inference that, if a man is seen to be a great sufferer, it may be concluded that he has been an exceptionally great sinner. In the same sense our Lord Himself, when spoken to about those on whom the tower in Siloam had fallen, gave warning against tracing specific calamities to specific sins; and His own experience, as the Man of Sorrows, is the conclusive proof that we must not indiscriminately connect sin and suffering.

Yet the principle itself cannot be rejected. The transgressor is haunted with the dread of retribution, while the upright man feels confident that, however dark the present may be, God will vindicate him; and these instincts of conscience are the reflex of the divine will and the divine law, which is embedded in the nature of things and reaches down to the very roots of the universe. Is any one, in secret or in public, making sin his aim? then, as

sure as God exists, there is retribution in store for him ; but is a man, in defiance of consequences, doing what he knows to be right ? then, though earth and hell should combine to prevent it, for him light is sown. The non-fulfilment of this law only means delay, not abrogation. Job suffered long, but his vindication came. Jesus Christ died the death of a criminal, but God highly exalted Him, and gave Him a name which is above every name.

Such is the principle of which Jeremiah was the servant and interpreter. He not only believed in it, but it burned in his bones ; he was in intense sympathy with it. All around him sin was rampant ; he characterized its various forms in terms of imperishable truth ; but he also foretold the misery which was to be its retribution.

Jeremiah's function, however, as a prophet of retribution, was not restricted to the mere proclamation of the general principle that sin would be punished some time ; he was, further, endowed to a remarkable degree with the gift of predicting when and in what forms the punishment was to fall.

At present it is the fashion to depreciate the predictive element in prophecy ; and some interpreters of the prophetic writings appear to take special delight in pointing to instances in which the predictions of the prophets were not fulfilled. This is a reaction from an opposite extreme. A generation ago the predictive element in prophecy received exaggerated prominence. The prophets were spoken of as if their principal function had been the foretelling of future events, and as if the value of any prophetic book had to be measured by the number of coincidences which could be counted between its predictions and subsequent history, Daniel, on this account, for example, being studied more than Isaiah. This was an exaggeration. Prediction was not the sole function of the prophets ; it was not even their

principal function. They were not sent to foretell the future condition of the world, but to alter its existing condition ; to grapple with the people of their own generation about their duty and their sin ; to declare the will of the living God for living men. To read the prophets from this point of view is to see them with new eyes ; and it is hardly too much to say that our generation, reading them thus, has rediscovered the most valuable section of the Old Testament.

But in scholarship, as in everything else, there is always a temptation to push an advantage too far ; and, if the predictive element in prophecy was exaggerated in last generation, we are in danger at present of swinging round to the opposite extreme. For prediction was a function of the prophets, and a very extraordinary one. The greatest of them, such as Isaiah, appeal to it with proud self-consciousness as evidence of their divine mission.

Jeremiah possessed the gift in a remarkable degree. In his very first vision, the direction from which the retribution was to come on his country was indicated—"out of the north"; that is, from Mesopotamia. And this was remarkable, for it might just as well have come from Egypt on the south. The Babylonish power had not risen to predominance when Jeremiah began to prophecy ; but, as soon as it did emerge, his eyes turned to it with wistful foreboding ; and in the very first year of Nebuchadnezzar, he designated this young warrior of the new power as the instrument with which God was to chastise His people : "Behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, My servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and will utterly destroy them, and make them an astonishment and an hissing, and perpetual desolations." As time went on, the prophet's sensitiveness

to the approach of coming events seemed to grow more keen, and he was able to predict many particulars. One of the most remarkable was the death of the false prophet Hananiah, which occurred within the year. Another was that the exile would last for seventy years, instead of being finished in two, as the false prophets were alleging. But the most remarkable instance was Jeremiah's steadfast certainty that the city, with its temple, and the state were for the time to perish. How was he certain of this? The wonder of it is brought home to us when we remember how, in exactly similar circumstances, with a besieging army encircling Jerusalem, Isaiah confidently assured his countrymen that the city would not perish. How did Isaiah know, in the one case, that Jerusalem would be delivered, and Jeremiah, in the other, that it would fall? No doubt the two men stood at different points of the providential development; there was a profound moral reason, in the one case, why the city should be saved and its inhabitants receive another chance, and in the other why there should be no further postponement, because the cup of iniquity was full. But it exceeded the wit of man to measure these distinctions, and in the one case and in the other the tallying of events with the preceding predictions was clear proof of supernatural knowledge in the prophet.

Another feature of Jeremiah's work as the prophet of retribution was the extent of his commission.

In his original call God had expressly designated him "a prophet unto the nations,"¹ thus indicating that his word was intended not for Israel only but also for the neighbouring peoples. How far this may have influenced the prophet's way of life, we cannot tell with precision. One would like to know whether he travelled among the neighbouring nations, in the exercise of his vocation, as

¹ i. 6.

Jonah went to Nineveh; but the indications are not sufficient to determine.¹ At all events he did not forget the extent of his call. He looked across the frontiers of his own country, and took the deepest interest in the condition and the fortunes of the neighbouring states. The extent of his information about some of them, especially Moab, would almost lead us to conclude that he had been there.

When the Babylonian power rose in its magnificence and was about to precipitate itself on the West, Jeremiah foresaw that the destruction was not intended for his own country only, but would take into its sweep the neighbouring states also. The ambassadors of five of these—Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Sidon—happening to be in Jerusalem, where they had come to form a league with the king against the common enemy, Jeremiah, by Divine direction, appeared before them, wearing about his neck a wooden yoke, with a copy of which he presented each, requesting him to carry it to his master along with the assurance that the recipient would be brought under the yoke of the king of Babylon.²

A considerable section of the writings of the prophet is occupied with prophecies addressed to foreign nations, and it is natural to think that he may have sent them to the rulers of the different nations in ways resembling that in which he sent these yokes. The drift of most of them is the same as that which the yokes embodied.

It was no wonder, perhaps, that the prophet was accused by his opponents of Babylonizing. But how far this was from his real sentiment is shown by his great prophecy of the destruction of Babylon itself. Although Babylon was the rod in the hands of Jehovah for the chastisement of His people, and Nebuchadnezzar was, in the same sense, called His servant, Jeremiah was not ignorant that Babylon

¹ In xiii. 7 it is proposed to read "Ephratah" instead of "Euphrates."

² xxvii.

and its princes were even more guilty than those upon whom they executed the divine vengeance. The law of retribution would, therefore, he was certain, have free course against them too, and it is in the oracle against Babylon that the great word occurs: "The Lord God of recompences shall surely requite."

It was as the prophet of retribution that Jeremiah was brought into the sharpest conflict with the false prophets.

He asserted that the cup was full and retribution imminent; they replied that things were not so bad, and that no serious evil would happen. They said, "Peace, peace"; and he replied: "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked."

Jeremiah has put on record some of his collisions with these men. At the time when he was wearing round his neck the wooden yoke as a sign, one of them, Hananiah by name, approached him one day in the temple in the presence of the priests and all the people and, seizing the yoke, broke it in pieces, asserting at the same time that in two years the yoke of the king of Babylon would be broken from the necks of the nations, and the vessels of the house of the Lord which were in the heathen capital returned to their place in the temple of Jerusalem. Apparently Jeremiah did not find words with which to answer this bold pretender at the moment; but soon he was sent to face him and to announce that, though the yoke of wood had been broken, God had fashioned in its stead a yoke of iron; and to Hananiah himself he was authorized to deliver this message: "Hear now, Hananiah, the Lord hath not sent thee, but thou makest the people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold I will cast thee from off the face of the earth; this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against the Lord." "So," it is added, "Hananiah died the same year in the seventh

month." A still heavier doom was predicted against two more of these opponents—Ahab, the son of Kolaiah, and Zedekiah, the son of Masseiah—they were to be roasted in the fire by the king of Babylon.

The argument which these prophets of smooth things used against the prophet of retribution was that the dwelling-place of Jehovah could not be violated, and it was an impiety to believe that it could. Would it not, they demanded, be a proof that Jehovah was less than almighty, if He permitted His sanctuary to be degraded by the presence of foreign soldiery? This argument they backed up with another—that Isaiah had stood on this principle; at the time when the inhabitants of Jerusalem were quaking with terror lest the city and the temple should be taken, he had told them not to fear, because Jehovah would defend His own dwelling-place. How sorely Jeremiah felt himself pressed by arguments such as these may be inferred from an outburst of impatience like this addressed to God Himself: "Ah, Lord God, surely Thou hast greatly deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, There shall be peace, whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul."

Yet he did not suffer himself to be turned aside by the force of such objections from loyalty to facts and the clear intimations within his soul. He knew that the promises of God were conditioned upon the behaviour of men, and that what might at one time look like everlasting truth might at another, when the circumstances had changed, prove, if clung to, a mere deception. His opponents were lamentably defective in character; he could, therefore, have no faith in their alleged revelations, for God does not communicate with men of ungodly life; themselves the slaves of sin, they very naturally refused to believe that sin could be so very dangerous; self-interest blinded them to the justice and severity of God. So Jeremiah had to pursue his lonely path, despised and derided, but sure of

his own inspiration, till the events came which established his reputation forever as the prophet of truth.

Not only were the predictions of Jeremiah fulfilled, but he lived to see their fulfilment. He lived through one of the most fearful calamities ever experienced by any nation, when Judah was overrun by the fierce soldiery of Babylon and its inhabitants were exiled, Jerusalem was destroyed and the temple burned. A hundred and thirty-three years before, Isaiah had witnessed the fall of the northern kingdom; but he was not, like Jeremiah on this occasion, on the spot; nor was there the same horror in the fall of Samaria as in the destruction of the ancient capital and especially of the temple.

All his life Jeremiah had been dreading the blow. He often tells us how, in his dreams or his waking visions, he had witnessed beforehand the scenery of destruction—the enemy descending upon the country like a cloud, their chariots rushing like a whirlwind, their horses swifter than eagles—and heard “the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war.” At last it all came to pass as he had anticipated. The invaders advanced from place to place, sweeping everything before them, till at last they settled down to the siege of Jerusalem. The siege lasted for eighteen months, but ultimately starvation finished the work, and the death throes of the nation ended. From amidst the ruins of their homes and the embers of the temple those that were left of the miserable inhabitants were marched off to exile in a distant country, their king going at their head, but, as Jeremiah had predicted, after first having seen his children slain, and then had his own eyes put out.

In the *Lamentations* the whole situation is depicted with a pen dipped in blood and tears :—

How is the gold become dim! and the most fine gold changed!
the stones of the sanctuary are poured out at the top of every street.

The precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold,
how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands
of the potter

Even the sea monsters draw out the breast, they give suck to their
young ones;

the daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in
the wilderness.

The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth
for thirst,

the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them.

They that did feed delicately are desolate in the streets,

they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills.

For the punishment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people is
greater than the punishment of the sin of Sodom,

that was overthrown as in a moment, and no hands stayed on her.

Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk,
they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of
sapphire.

Their visage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in the
streets,

their skin cleaveth to their bones, it is withered, it is become like
a stick.

They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be
slain with hunger,

for these pine away, stricken through for want of the fruits of the
field.

The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children;
they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my
people.

* * * *

They ravished the women in Zion,
and the maids in the cities of Judah.

Princes are hanged up by their hand,
the faces of the elders were not honoured.

They took the young men to grind,
and the children fell under the wood.

The elders have ceased from the gate,
the young men from their music.

The joy of our heart is ceased,
our dance is turned into mourning.

The crown is fallen from our head,
woe unto us that we have sinned.

All that pass by clap their hands at thee;
they hiss and wag their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem, say-
ing,

"Is this the city that men called the Perfection of Beauty, the Joy of the whole world?"

All thine enemies have opened their mouth against thee: they say, "We have swallowed her up; certainly this is the day that we looked for; we have found, we have seen it."

* * * *

Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?

Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me,

Wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of His fierce anger.

JAMES STALKER.

ST. PAUL IN ATHENS.

THE generally accepted interpretation of the remarkable incident narrated in *Acts* xvii. 18-33 seems to be that Paul was conducted away from the Agora to the Mars Hill in order to address an audience, who thought they would have a better opportunity of hearing him on the Hill than in the Agora. Perhaps I am not fairly and adequately stating the current view, for, when I try to elicit from the works of Conybeare and Howson, Farrar, and Meyer-Wendt (taking them as fairly indicative of common and widely accepted views) what is their view of motives and action, I fail to get any connected and consistent theory; and when I try to express in clear, brief terms their meaning, I find that anything I say on the authority of one page is contradicted by some sentence on a different page.

Dean Farrar, who always has the merit of putting in a clear and simple form the most sensible tendency of current opinion, brings the innate want of consistency of the common view into prominence, when he says, "as the Areopagus (*i.e. the Hill*) would furnish a convenient area for an harangue, and as it was there that the court met which had the cognizance of all matters affecting the State religion, it was perhaps with some sense of burlesque that

they led him up the rock-hewn steps—which still exist—to the level summit, and placed him on the ‘Stone of Impudence,’ from which the defendants before the Areopagus were wont to plead their cause.” And he proceeds to treat the “scene as a sort of parody of the judicial preliminaries.” This exaggerates to a degree that seems incredible the levity of the Athenian people. I do not gather clearly whether Dean Farrar imagines that the court of Areopagus, famous and proverbial for its strict judicial gravity, took part in this parody of judicial procedure, or merely that Dionysius the Areopagite took an unofficial part in the profane burlesque, for profane it must have been to him.

Meyer-Wendt consider that the scene “shows not a trace of judicial procedure,”¹ and that its only object was to “gratify the curiosity of the populace which gathered on the Areopagus”;² but why the populace collected on such an unsuitable place as Mars Hill on such an occasion as this, they do not condescend to explain. Dean Farrar, with the natural practical instinct of an orator, feels the necessity of giving some explanation why the populace abandoned the Agora, where they naturally and regularly congregated, and went away to the small, confined, and exposed top of a rocky hill. Conybeare and Howson, like Meyer-Wendt, give no intelligible reason for the change of scene: they say that the Hill was “the place which was at once most convenient and most appropriate. There was everything in the place to incline the auditors, so far as they were seriously disposed at all, to a reverent and thoughtful attention.” In one place they seem half inclined to the view which Dean Farrar has carried out more fully, for they speak about “something of a mock solemnity in this ad-

¹ *Hergang der von richterlicher Verhandlung keine Spur zeigt*, p. 377.

² *Dass es nur auf Befriedigung der Neugierde des auf dem Areopag zusammenströmenden Volkes abgesehen war*, *ibid.*

journalment," and they consider that v. 21 "is so introduced as to imply that curiosity was the motive of the whole proceeding. But in a footnote on the same page they say that "the Areopagus was preferred to the larger Pnyx as the scene, because it was more *appropriate* for a discourse upon religion." At the same time they imagine "that Dionysius, with other Areopagites, were on the judicial seats"; and yet they are certain that there was no trial before the court, because there is not "anything in the speech of a really apologetic character" (which is, of course, a correct statement).

This view, or rather these views, seem to me to be false in local colour, to lose much of what is characteristic of Athens, and to add much that is *in Athens* improbable or impossible. An examination of the localities in 1882 with a view to test the credibility of the incident left me convinced that the narrative was not historical, for the idea that the fault lay, not in the narrative, but in the common interpretation did not at that time occur to me, and was first brought home to me by Professor E. Curtius's paper (quoted hereafter). The following reasons against the usual conception of the scene must occur to any one who examines the Hill and compares the narrative as usually interpreted with the localities.

(1) There is no place on Mars Hill where an audience of even one hundred persons could listen with convenience, advantage, and comfort, to a speech, and the reason for the crowd adjourning to the Hill could not lie in these considerations. Since 1882 I have discussed the subject with other visitors, and especially with my friend and former pupil Rev. A. F. Findlay, who spent last winter in Athens and examined the localities and the incident with the utmost care, discussing on the spot with others the conditions of the case, weighing all the published opinions, and embodying his results in a paper read before the British School of

Athens. What I say under the present head agrees with his views; but I must not be understood to claim his agreement in the view which is to be stated in the sequel. It seems unnecessary to discuss the topographical question further, as that would require much space if it were to be done satisfactorily. The opinion stated under this head is not a hastily formed one; and the following quotation from a well-known German scholar will probably be considered sufficient to show what is the impression made on any visitor.

In the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1895, p. 174, Dr. Chr. Belger says, "When I was in Athens in 1894, I pondered upon the hill of Areopagus about the possibility of Paul's sermon." He comes to the conclusion as probable that on the Hill "there was no room for a large assembly, while the whole scene suits perfectly the lively activity of the market place."

Standing on the hill, I could see no other possible interpretation except that the speech was delivered on the flat top of the small rocky peak opposite the Acropolis, and, so far as I can learn, every modern historian or commentator or visitor who attempts to fix the scene on any precise spot has come to the same conclusion. There, as is universally agreed, the members of the Council of Areopagus sat, when they judged in solemn state after the ancient immemorial custom cases of homicide. On this little plateau perhaps nearly a hundred persons might stand in a dense crowd and listen to Paul; and, to give him any advantage in addressing them there, he must have stood, as Dean Farrar suggests,¹ on one of the two stones,

¹ He fixes on the stone of the defendant as the actual one occupied, suitably to his conception of the scene as a parody of judicial proceedings; but by an odd error he considers that the Stone of Shamelessness was the defendant's place. Obviously Shamelessness (*δραλδεια*) was the characteristic of the pertinacious prosecutor, while Crime or Insult (*ὀβρις*) was on the side of the prosecuted.

called the stone of Insult and the Stone of Shamelessness, which have been left opposite each other on the summit.¹

(2) It is inconsistent with Athenian patriotism and pride that they should conduct a "babbler," for whom they expressed such contempt, to the most impressive seat of Athenian religious and national history in order that he might there prate to them. The Athenians were in many respects flippant, but their flippancy was combined with an intense pride in the national dignity and the historic glory of the city, which would have revolted at such an insult as that a babbler should harangue them about his foreign deities on the spot where the Athenian elders had judged the god Ares and the hero Orestes, where the goddess Athena had presided in the highest court of her chosen people, and where still judgment on the most grave cases of homicide was solemnly pronounced.

(3) The place is in itself one which no southern race would voluntarily choose for comfort or pleasure in listening to a speech. On a fine day the sun's rays are studiously avoided by a southern populace, and no one who has experienced the sun of Athens would select a rocky summit as the place to listen to a philosophic oration. Still less would the hill be suitable on a rainy or windy day; now windy weather is exceedingly common on the hills of Athens, low as they are; and, to put the matter briefly, so far as I may judge, I can imagine no circumstances in which a set of Athenians would take Paul to the top of Mars Hill as a convenient place to listen to him.

(4) A small knot of people, who desired to quietly discuss a philosophic problem, might be expected to retire from the Agora to some sequestered spot. If Paul's audience retired, we may expect that it was a knot of interested listeners and debaters; and it may be granted that such a group of people could find accommodation on the Mars Hill. But

¹ The summit has been prepared by cutting for its purpose.

that view is not in accordance with the ordinary interpretation, which demands a large audience. So far it appears to me that the ordinary interpretation is correct: this scene breathes the spirit of the Agora and the open, free, crowded life of Athens, not the quiet atmosphere of the philosophic classroom; and the language of *v.* 18 savours not of philosophic interest and careful discussion, but of contempt and dislike.

(5) The words "in the middle of Mars Hill" are far from natural or clear. What is the middle of a hill? Is it the middle of the slope or the middle of the top? Every one must feel the inappropriateness of the expression; and when he stands on the spot, the words do not become more luminous (as they ought in a good document). I could see no sense of the phrase possible, except the middle of the small rocky summit already described; and then the words amount to a denial that Paul stood on either of the stones whence he could speak with advantage. A natural and true instinct, then, usually leads those who talk about the scene to omit the word "midst," and say, "Paul stood on Mars Hill"; and many interpreters (including the latest, Dr. F. Blass) justify this by supposing that *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου* is a Hebraism for *ἐν* as in *i.* 15, *ii.* 22. Against this interpretation reason and analogy protest loudly. (*a*) What is a Hebraism doing in this Attic scene, full of Attic touches and containing typically Attic words like *σπερμολόγος*? In *i.* 15, *ii.* 22, a Hebraism is natural, and was certainly derived by Luke from the authority on whom or which he necessarily was dependent; but here it is quite out of place. He that thrusts a Hebraism into this place denies that Luke had any sense of appropriateness in language. I know that hardly any person appreciates that Luke had a most delicate sense of appropriateness in words; but that is because few have opened their eyes to see, or their minds to understand.

(*b*) There is no real analogy between this passage, if it

be understood in the usual way, and i. 15, ii. 22; in them *ἐν μέσῳ* is used of a speaker standing amidst a crowd of persons, and it quite well might be taken in the strictest sense. At any rate it must be rendered "among." We cannot reason from these passages to the scene on Mars Hill. Paul certainly did not stand "among the hill," but "on the hill": where can we find a Hebraism giving "in the middle of" as equal to "on."

(c) Further, we must press the word "midst" here, for it occurs twice; at the opening "Paul stood in the midst of Areopagus," and at the conclusion "he went forth from the midst of them." These two expressions correspond to and explain each other. Where *ἐν μέσῳ* is used in *Acts* it is usually accompanied by a genitive, denoting an assembly or a group of persons;¹ and here, he that "went forth from the midst of them" must have been standing "in the midst of them." Now, the term "Areopagus" is sometimes used in the sense of "the Council or Court of Areopagus"; and surely this argument makes it as clear as noonday that here we must take Paul to have stood "in the midst of the Court of Areopagus," as, in iv. 7, Peter stood in the midst of the Sanhedrim.

Dr. Blass, indeed, in his valuable and instructive edition of *Acts*, denied that in Greek *ὁ Ἀρειος Πάγος* could mean the Court, and declared that it can only mean the hill; but in *EXPOSITOR*, Feb., 1895, p. 135 note, there is pointed out an example from Cicero (which in a letter Dr. Blass acknowledges in a most courteous and scholarly way to prove that he has spoken too strongly), and Mr. A. F. Findlay gives me another indubitable example from an inscription.²

¹ So i. 15, ii. 22, iv. (genitive understood from the context, xxvii. 21). The only exceptions are of no avail against this analogy: in *Acts* i. 18, Judas "burst asunder in the midst," and xxvii. 27, "about midnight" the idea "middle" has to be pressed. An examination of the usage in the Gospels would strengthen the opinion expressed in the text.

² The inscription, which is of the latter half of the first century after Christ,

Several other examples which I should also take in the sense of "*Court*" are not admitted by Dr. Blass; and, though I still maintain them, yet the two instances just quoted, which are admitted by him, are conclusive, and we need not discuss the others. Moreover, the example from Cicero suggests (what is undoubtedly the case) that this sense of Ἀρειος Πάγος was rather colloquial, whereas ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου was the formal and official designation. Here, therefore, we note (as Dr. Blass finely says¹ about σπερμολόγος, v. 19) that the author catches the very term which the actual speakers employed; and I hope shortly to prove the same with regard to several other unusual terms in the account of scenes in Asia Minor. The language of *Acts* is the language of educated conversation, vivid and racy.

The expression in v. 19 now acquires more significance. The words are closely analogous to ix. 27: "Barnabas taking hold of Paul brought him to the Apostles." The words, "taking hold of him" have there a marked force; when all the brethren in Jerusalem were afraid of Paul, Barnabas took him by the hand as a sign of friendliness and confidence, and led him thus publicly into the presence of the Apostles.

In all other cases where ἐπιλαβέσθαι is used, it has a marked force, whether friendly or hostile: in xxi. 30, the Jews seized Paul to drag him out of the temple: in 33 the tribune seized hold of Paul to save him from the Jewish mob: in xxiii. 19 the tribune took the hand of Paul's nephew to draw him apart for private talk, a kindly act to a young man in a difficult and almost a dangerous position; in xviii. 17 the Jews seized Sosthenes to beat him; in xvi. 19 Paul's accusers seized him and dragged him before

is published by M. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 68 no. 206, and uses the words Ἀρειος Πάγος ἐν Ἐλευσίνι λόγους ἐποιήσατο.

¹ Hoc exceptit ex ipso ore Atheniensium.

the magistrates. The word has either a marked friendly sense, or a decidedly hostile sense; and it is obvious that when one man goes so far as to lay hold of another, his feelings must be deeply moved to express themselves in that gesture.

It is then not permissible to take *ἐπιλαβόμενοι* in *v.* 19 as a mere otiose word, which might be omitted without much loss; there must have been some stronger emotion among the philosophers than mere contempt mingled with curiosity, when they actually placed their hands on Paul.¹ But, undoubtedly, the context shows clearly that the grasping of Paul was not done by friends who were acting as his escort and his sponsors (like Barnabas with Paul); and I see no resource except to understand that they grasped Paul in the way of compulsion and took him before the Court.

Paul then was brought before the Court of Areopagus. The phrase *ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον* is quite correct in this sense. *ἐπὶ* is used of bringing a person before a judge or a tribunal in ix. 21, xvi. 19, xvii. 6, xviii. 12,—in fact, *ἐπὶ* is the regular Lucan word in that sense. His position before the Court was one that involved a certain degree of danger; and thus the phrase used in *v.* 33 acquires real significance similar to what it has in Acts xxiii. 10, where Paul was rescued by the Roman soldiers from the midst of the rioters at Jerusalem.

The opinion that Paul was actually on trial before the Areopagus has often been expressed; but the attempts made to explain the following scene on that supposition have not been successful. The fact remains incontestable that no formal trial takes place, that Paul's speech is not of the nature of a defence, that there is no definite accuser, and no definite accusation is described. If this is a trial, it must

¹ Some take the people in general, and not the philosophers, as the nominative in this sentence. The point is immaterial at this moment, but will be discussed in the sequel.

be confessed that the narrative misses almost all the characteristic points of a trial. A most interesting attempt to justify that view was made recently by the distinguished historian of Greece, Prof. Ernst Curtius; and his familiarity with the country and the people, combined with his sympathetic insight into the religious side of Greek life and thought, give his words the right to cordial welcome and make his opinion one of great weight. He touched on the subject first incidentally in his *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, where he treated the scene unhesitatingly as a trial; but afterwards in the fascinating paper, "Paulus in Athen,"¹ where he discussed it more fully and in more detail, he drew back a little and defined the situation as being rather a preliminary examination than an actual trial. The same view was stated by Dr. Plumptre in his commentary on *Acts*; ² and his words give such a fair and clear account of the situation and difficulties, that the briefest course will be to quote his note: "The narrative that follows presents no trace of a formal trial, and hence it has been questioned whether the Apostle was brought before the *Court* of the Areopagus. Unless, however, there had been some intention of a trial, there seems no reason for their taking him to the Areopagus rather than to the Pnyx or elsewhere; and the mention of a member of the Court as converted by St. Paul's preaching, makes it probable that the Court was actually sitting at the time. The most natural explanation of the apparent difficulty is, that as the charge of bringing in "strange deities" was one which came under the jurisdiction of the Areopagus Court, the crowd who seized on St. Paul hurried him there, not presenting a formal indictment, but calling for a preliminary inquiry, that his speech accordingly, though of the nature of an *apologia*, was not an answer to a distinct accusation, and that having heard

¹ Published first in the Berlin Akad. *Sitzungsberichte*, afterwards in his *Abhandlungen*, vol. II.

² In Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary*, II. p. 114.

it the Court looked on the matter as calling for no special action, and passed to the order of the day."

This explanation does not appear to be thoroughly satisfactory, though it certainly approximates much more to an intelligible picture of the incident than the common view in any of its various forms. I cannot trace any appearance that the scene is like a preliminary action of the Court in reference to a serious charge like "bringing in strange deities." Moreover there is no example that a charge of introducing strange gods was tried before the Areopagus.

Prof. Curtius puts the idea of a preliminary inquiry more definitely: he defines the scene as a *προδικασία* conducted before the Areopagus as the police court charged with the maintenance of order in a city which was subject to frequent disturbances; and he considers it as probable that a committee of the Areopagus, sitting permanently in a hall opening on the Agora (probably in the King's Hall, *στοὰ βασιλῆως*), had the regular duty of promptly investigating any cases of disturbance in the market place.

But, while I think Prof. Curtius is fully justified in the opinion that the commonplace duties of the Court of Areopagus did not take place on the sacred and solemn and stately, but most unsuitable and awkward summit of the Hill, but in the Hall on the Agora, yet in this case one sees no appearance of an uproar or a disturbance in the narrative. Rather it seems clear that the whole proceedings were natural and orderly in their evolution; and, if a preliminary enquiry were being made on a charge of disorder, it is difficult to imagine a speech further from the point than the speech of Paul. Prof. Curtius has described the character of the earlier scene most admirably, when he speaks of verses 1-16 as containing "such a mass of historical matter, everything in them is so pregnant and individualized, so vivid and characteristic," that the impression is given that "a well-informed witness pictures the proceedings with lifelike truth." But in the latter

part, the lifelike character disappears, if Paul must be supposed to have been apprehended on a charge of disturbance.

In these two theories, which have much in common, and are in several respects correct and suggestive, the cause of error seems to be that they do not rightly conceive the environment amid which Paul is here placed. He is not surrounded by persons eager to maintain the purity of Athenian worship, nor by persons who could be thought of in connexion with disorderly or uproarious conduct. He is among the recognised teachers of philosophy in the greatest university of the world. Herein lies the interest of the scene. In *Acts* we find Paul in many different situations and among the most varied kinds of society—before kings, Roman officials, and Greek magistrates, in conflict with priests, magicians, and rioters, mixing in every kind of contemporary life. Here alone we find him amid the surroundings of a great university, and disputing with its professors. It is, therefore, a scene of special interest; and if we keep in mind the special character (as none of the commentators seem to do), the details become clearer.

The first point that we must become clear about is the meaning of the comments made in *v. 17*. The first quoted remark is generally taken as a mere expression of contempt—"what would this babbler say?" but I cannot agree with the interpretation. As Dr. Blass finely says, Luke has caught this word (*σπερμολόγος*) from the lips of the Athenians: it is a characteristic term of Attic slang. We must therefore ask what is its sense in the mouth of an Athenian; and I find no jot of evidence that Attic slang ever used it in the sense of "babbling." *σπερμολόγος* has been absurdly supposed by some to have some connexion with *λόγος*; and hence we find in the Latin version the rendering *seminiverbius*. But the accent shows that the meaning must be "seed-collector"; and two applications of the word were

current in Athens, (a) a bird that picks up seeds as food,¹ (b) a worthless fellow of low class, with the insinuation that he lives at the expense of others (like those who hang about round the corners of the markets in order to pick up any scraps which fall from the loads that are carried about), but without any insinuation that he is a babbler.² Absolute vulgarity and inability to rise above the most contemptible standard of life and conduct is the connotation, and there clings often to it the additional suggestion of the stealing of refuse and scraps, and in literature of plagiarism.³ A review of the samples quoted by Wetstein in his commentary on this passage, supplemented by a few others mentioned in *Stephani Thesaurus*,⁴ shows this, but I need not occupy space in doing what every one can do for himself. The word is common, and its sense very definite and strong. There is in no case in any classical author any suggestion that a σπερμολόγος is a babbler or mere talker; in many cases that sense is excluded by the context, and in the rest the analogy of those others is conclusive.⁵ The word is several times connected with slave life; the *spermologos* was near the type of the slave, and inconsistent with the nobler character of the free man.

¹ In this sense the name is supposed by some to indicate a bird with a harsh, loud voice, and hence to be diverted to denote a human babbler; but in the descriptions of the bird no allusion is made to its voice.

² Harpocration, an excellent authority on Attic slang, defines the term σπερμολόγος as ὁ εὐτελής καὶ καταφρόνητος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἴσως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων διαζῶν.

³ σπερμολόγα ῥήματα is coarse, vulgar language, "Billingsgate" (Plutarch, *de ira cohib.*, p. 456 c.); but ῥήματα is here added (the adj. means only vulgar).

⁴ See also the articles on σπερμολογέω, σπερματολόγος.

⁵ For example, Plutarch, *Alcib.*, 36, p. 211 D, says that Alcibiades ruined the navy by selecting for command his drinking companions, men of ναυτικῆς σπερμολογίας, and even in the *Thesaurus* and in Liddell & Scott's *Lexicon*, this is interpreted as *vaniloquentia*, babbling, gossip. But Plutarch refers not to the capacity for foolish talk (which was about the last quality to recommend men as companions to the brilliant and gifted Alcibiades), but to low rank in the service. So τὰ σπερμολόγα τῶν παιδαρίων in Athenæus III. 85 F. does not mean babbling boys, but vulgar street-cads, and there is no reference intended to their talk, but only to their using shells as whistles.

Yet some cases undoubtedly remain in Hesychius (an alternative rendering), in an *Onomasticon* quoted by Wetstein, in Gregory Nazianzen *de Fil. Orat.* I., and some others (e.g. Latin versions of *Acts* xvii.), in which the sense of garrulity and foolish talk is intended. Probably all these cases spring from a misunderstanding of the word by persons who, from defective knowledge of Greek, took *σπερμολόγος* to mean *sower of words* (*seminator verborum, seminiverbius*); and the misinterpretation became customary in this passage, and thus affected authors like Gregory Nazianzen.

Sometimes the word conveys the sense of plagiarism when it is used in a literary connexion. Eustathius speaks of rhetoricians who were mere collectors of words and consistent plagiarists,¹ and says that the word is applied to those who make a show in unscientific style of knowledge which they have got from misunderstanding of lectures.² Eustathius is a late writer, but he was exceedingly well read in classical Greek; and Philostratus has the same idea, saying that Dionysius's lectures were declared by some of his detractors to be made up of scraps from various sources (*Vit. Soph.*, I. 22).

The only acceptance that gives good sense and good Greek in *Acts* xvii. 18 seems to be that of "plagiarist," and there is an intentional humour,³ or perhaps sarcasm, in the juxtaposition of the two inconsistent accusations, "this fellow is a vulgar, unskilful plagiarist," and "this fellow discourses of strange, foreign gods."

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(To be continued.)

¹ λογοσυλλεκτάδαι ὄντες καὶ δι' ὅλου σπερμολογοῦντες on *Il.* xxiii., p. 1425, 13 (1309, 4).

² ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλαζονευομένων ἀμεθόδως ἐπὶ μαθήμασιν ἐκ τινων παρακουσμάτων on *Od.* v. p. 241; ii. (1547, 52).

³ The humour of Luke is not, perhaps, much noticed; but it is hardly possible to read the trial and prison scene at Philippi without being struck with this quality in the picture of the fussy "Praetors."

*THE CHARACTER OF TIMOTHY AS REFLECTED
IN THE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO HIM BY
THE APOSTLE PAUL.*

A POPULAR APOLOGETIC.

BEFORE attempting to develop the character of Timothy as that is revealed in the Pauline Epistles, a previous question has to be considered, namely, how far have we a right to expect that these letters will give us what we are in search of. That must surely depend upon the author of them, and the nature of his communications. If a writer deal in vague commonplaces and toothless platitudes, if he is content with a few conventional compliments, or if his purpose is simply to recount his own experiences, or to touch upon some trivial matter, then it would be unreasonable to think that we should find the characters of his correspondent reflected in the letters addressed to him.

But in the case before us the facts are the reverse of all this. The Apostle is writing to a young comrade who is engaged with himself in the perilous undertaking of establishing a new religion in the Roman world; he clearly foresees a time of increasing trial, his own future was threatening and uncertain, while the position occupied by Timothy at Ephesus was like that of the advanced guard of an army in a bitterly hostile country. Under these circumstances the older man writes to the younger in order to instruct him upon various points of church order that might possibly arise, and further, to nerve him for the inevitable conflict. With such objects in view, the nature of his many appeals and exhortations would be governed by the character of the man to whom he wrote. Both the love and the fear of the Apostle would lead him to iterate and re-iterate injunctions which would reveal much of his own thought concerning Timothy. We are justified then in using these

letters as mirrors in which we may find a character reflected ; and our point must be to see whether the character so discovered does at all fit in with what elsewhere we may learn as to Timothy's circumstances and antecedents.

Confining ourselves to the statements of the New Testament, or to direct deductions from them, it would seem that Timothy was a child of one of those mixed marriages between Jews and Gentiles, which must often have obtained in remote districts, however much they may have been discountenanced by the central ecclesiastical authorities at Jerusalem. We are told that his mother was a Jewess, but his father was a Greek, his parents living in the region of Lystra and Derbe, though in which of these two cities they resided is not clear. His mother and grandmother were godly women, who, from his earliest years, did their best to instruct the child in the ancient Scriptures of their faith. To what extent the father was an active element in the lad's life does not appear, nor is it known whether he was even a proselyte to the Jewish religion.

However this may be, when Paul came into the district preaching the new faith in Christ, declaring that in Jesus was to be found the long-promised Messiah of his people, Timothy became a convert, for the Apostle calls him his own son in the faith (1 Tim. i. 2), and on the occasion of his second visit to Lycaonia, the great preacher found him already held in high esteem by the Christian community, public opinion confirming his own judgment that in this young man he had discovered one who would be peculiarly fitted to accompany himself on his missionary journeys. Having both Jewish and Greek blood in his veins, the young evangelist would be able to sympathise with the religious inquirers of both nationalities in any difficulties they might feel in receiving the gospel ; whilst his gentle spirit and untiring devotion would make him a choice companion in travel.

From prudential motives, rather as a matter of expediency than of principle, Paul had Timothy circumcised, and it is an open question whether this action would have a beneficial effect upon a temperament which perhaps by nature was too much inclined to a policy of compromise. One may possibly trace some later developments to the influence exerted upon Timothy at a critical juncture by this diplomatic act on the part of the Apostle.

After accompanying Paul on various journeys, for we meet with him at Philippi, at Berea, and at Corinth, the young minister seems, at a later date, to have been stationed at Ephesus in charge of the Christian community there; and it was whilst in that great centre of pagan worship that the letters which bear his name were addressed to him by the Apostle from his prison-house in Rome.

It is worth while trying to conceive to ourselves the situation at Ephesus, the atmosphere in which Timothy was called upon to discharge his Christian ministry, for the evidence goes to show that his was a nature likely to be keenly sensitive to the conditions under which his work had to be done.

To begin with, Ephesus was the seat of the worship of Diana, her temple was a magnificent building dominating the entire city, and on it wealth and taste had lavished their utmost. Everything was done to attract the eye, to inspire with awe and wonder. Its courts were daily thronged with worshippers from every quarter of the Roman Empire. Perhaps it was under the shadow of the great temple, and in the presence of all this splendid pageantry of worship, that Timothy had to shepherd the flock of Christ, to lead the unadorned worship, and to administer the austere simple ordinances of the primitive Church. It must have required a firm courage, an eye undimmed for spiritual things, for a man with Greek blood in his veins, and trained from childhood to think with reverent delight upon the temple

worship at Jerusalem, to hold on unabashed, and not sometimes to have been visited with a sort of undefined wish that in some way or other he might be able to blend together the body of a splendid ritual with the soul of a spiritual Christian service. One can imagine him, not exactly ashamed of Christ, but feeling like a dissenter in a cathedral city. He believes himself to be right, but he wishes that he had not to breathe so much of the chilling air of social contempt. Perhaps his position might find a modern parallel in that of a *native* Christian teacher, whose work shall lie—say in Benares, the metropolis of Hindooism, if the supposition be added that India were not under British, but under native rule.

If this was the condition outside the body of Christian disciples, there were elements at work inside that body with which Timothy had to reckon. Oriental speculation had its chosen home at Ephesus, and the Judaising tendency, which had been rampant in Galatia, was not wholly absent. These two influences, apparently so diverse, conspired against the simplicity that is in Christ. It was beginning to be a cherished dream with certain minds that a sort of eclectic religion might be developed out of a union of philosophic speculation, Jewish ritualism, and the gospel of Christ. These people did not mean to deny the gospel, but only to enrich it; they would rid it of its barrenness, and, in a non-apostolic sense, adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour. Did Timothy ever look with a secret longing in their direction and suffer the pangs of conflict between his taste and his spiritual convictions? Possibly he did.

In addition to these religious, or quasi-religious elements of Ephesian life, we may be sure that there was, ever present, the abounding licentiousness which distinguished populations in which the Greek and the Oriental mingled; the darker vices of the Asiatic were partly veiled by the

flashing splendours of the Greek imagination, and becoming less repulsive, were the more dangerous.

Keeping these several points before us, namely, Timothy's parentage and up-bringing, his kindly and lovable nature, his comparative youth, and the social and religious environment of his Ephesian life, let us turn to the two Epistles, which, probably in rapid succession, Paul addressed to him, to see whether they confirm these suggestions as to his character, which have already been thrown out.

Certainly he drew to himself the affection of the Apostle to an unusual degree. Paul speaks of him with almost a maternal tenderness. He calls him "my true child in the faith—my child Timothy; Timothy, my beloved child." It was not only that Paul was now an old man, whilst Timothy was comparatively young, but it was that the latter preserved the child-like filial temper: in his manhood his faith had the simplicity of a child—it was faith unfeigned. He did his work as a child serving with his father in a common undertaking (Phil. ii. 22). Standing at the Apostle's side, or within easy reach of him, he was prepared to do and to dare much; but it is to be observed that Paul never calls him by that vigorous epithet, "my fellow-soldier," though he does bid him fight the good fight of faith. Curiously, when the Christian veteran thinks of him and prays for him, he remembers his friend by his tears, tears not of weakness, but of a very tender heart.

Such a character is as rare as it is delightful; it meant unstinted service, unselfish devotion, an almost instinctive care for the welfare of others. It is much to preserve a gentle heart in this hard world. But in our poor human nature men often have what are called the vices of their virtues; strength may cast a rude shadow, gentleness may lack firmness, and wide sympathies are apt to be feeble in their grasp of truth. There are minds that see so much good in all things that they see not the supreme good any-

where. How was it with Timothy? Let us turn again to the apostolic letters and see.

Does it not look as though he were lacking in a due self-confidence, and, underrating his powers, failed to cultivate them as he ought? What is the meaning of the exhortation, "Let no man despise thy youth," taken in conjunction with a reference to Timothy in the first Corinthian Epistle—"If Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear; let no man despise him"? Does it not suggest a man somewhat timid and faltering, afraid to take the position that was his due, and so falling a prey to hard-faced, brazen men, who instantly interpret such a bearing as an invitation to impertinence? And is not the inference sustained by the exhortation, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee"; an exhortation repeated later in a more energetic form—"Stir up the gift of God that is in thee"?

It is possible for a man to come to such a point of self-depreciation as to cease to make the best of himself, letting God-given powers rust away, because he cannot persuade himself that he possesses them. And so he may give way to idle musings, and find himself surpassed by inferior but more vigorous men.

Paul was bent on doing his utmost to urge Timothy to hopeful activity; he plies him with exhortations to this end. "Be diligent," he says, "to present thyself approved unto God; exercise thyself unto godliness; I charge thee . . . preach the word." This is not the language usually addressed to a strenuous and eager man; it was as though the oft infirmities had sapped the vigour of the young minister, disposing him not so much to go backward as not to go forward, contented with the position of acceptance and esteem which he had so early gained. Perhaps a rougher training would have made him a stronger man, working in him that useful obstinacy which can hold on its way in all sorts of providential weather.

As we have seen, within the Church itself there was a tendency to vain speculation—vain at least to us, brought up in the hurry and hard practical temper of the West. Indeed it is difficult for us to understand its subtle charm for the Oriental and the Greek, but charm them it did. Avowedly Christian men were beginning to be attracted by misty theosophic philosophies, which conceived of a whole series of created intelligences, higher than man and lower than Christ, who in some way or other should intervene between the High and Holy One and this gross and palpable world. By means of these they sought to soften down certain aspects of the gospel which came into collision with long-cherished beliefs.

It is more than conceivable that Timothy looked in the direction of these ideas, or, at least, did not oppose to them a determined front; he felt their vague attraction, and did not clearly see the errors that lay within them. To him they were the legitimate and harmless endeavours of the human mind to fill up the gaps in revelation, and so to construct a symmetrical system, the main outline of which the gospel should supply.

To Paul, trained in a sterner school, and endowed with a more masculine intellect, these airy speculations were hateful. He saw that they entangled the mind, sapped the spiritual strength, and dimmed the supreme glory of Christ. He saw that they put the ever-blessed God at a long distance from the world He had made, and turned Him into a sort of absentee proprietor, who hands over the actual management of affairs to subordinates. Certainly he speaks of these teachers of an improved gospel with very scanty respect. He tells Timothy that he had arranged for his stay in Ephesus, that he might put a check upon some who were giving heed to fables and endless genealogies. He bluntly declares that if any departed from the wholesome words of Christ, he was a conceited person, knowing

nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words; and he sharply bids Timothy refuse what he calls profane and old wives' fables, and give himself to the exercise of practical godliness. Almost his last words in the First Epistle consist of a very urgent appeal to his friend to guard the sacred deposit committed to him—the pure gospel—and to turn away once for all from profane and vain babblings, and the oppositions of a knowledge, which indeed was no knowledge, but was falsely so called. An indication surely that the young pastor had been tempted to dabble in those speculations which claimed to lead men into a more perfect knowledge of the truth.

It would seem that in the interval between the despatch of the first Epistle and the second, no very reassuring intelligence had reached the Apostle with respect to the stand which Timothy was taking at Ephesus, for we find him renewing his injunctions with a sharpness that indicates a growing uneasiness. He is not satisfied, and so he will say again with emphasis what he has already said. "Shun," he says, "profane babblings: their word will eat as doth a canker." "Avoid," he adds, "foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they do gender strife)." (Unlearned questions—what a home-thrust that is at the philosophers!) And then, as though he would clench the whole matter, he says, almost sternly, "Abide thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing from whom thou hast learned them."

Now we may not say that such language proves that Timothy had seriously lapsed from the faith that is in Christ, but it does indicate that there was a certain hesitancy about him—an irresolution which, coupled with a speculative vein, threw him unduly open to every novelty. He was not only ready to listen to it, which perhaps he was sometimes bound to do, but he was prejudiced in favour

of it, and he needed to be recalled from these voyages upon a misty sea to the practices of a godly life, and to the clear glories of that gospel which had been committed to his charge. There were tendencies in him, which, unchecked, might disqualify him for the noble but perilous duties of the Christian ministry.

One point more remains, as being clearly reflected in both the Epistles. There can be no doubt that the position of a Christian teacher and leader of the flock of God in Ephesus made a very great demand upon actual courage. The new faith brought trouble to its confessors of a sort peculiarly hard to bear. The worshippers of Diana were strong in the support of the trade of the town, and in the countenance of the municipality and of the state. They were the aristocratic party, and we may be sure they did not disguise their contempt for the new religion and for those who professed it,—a religion, they would say, started by a Jew who was condemned to death as a criminal, and who died upon a cross. It were absurd to think that such a religion could live and hold its own when it was well known that Asia, and indeed, the whole world, worshipped the great goddess Diana, whose image occupied the inner shrine of their glorious temple.

The Judaizing section in the Church would contribute their element of difficulty, for they were impatient of the simplicity of its ordinances, and the nakedness, as they would say, of its worship. And the would-be philosophers longed to weld into the central teaching of the cross some of their own surmises, which they were pleased to call a *gnosis*, a higher knowledge.

Now there are men who are able to face such a situation unmoved; they are furnished with a firmness of temper which can doggedly hold on its way, and shut out the influences that sadly distress and paralyse minds of another make, and Timothy certainly was of another make, his

tender, sensitive nature would make him keenly sensible of the difficulties of his position.

Perhaps, says Dean Paget, the strength, the wickedness, the wealth, the confidence of paganism at Ephesus at times appalled and staggered him ; there seemed something irresistibly discouraging in the brilliance, the culture, the self-sufficiency of the society which ignored and ridiculed him. As a consequence he was in danger of being ashamed of the faith that brought such trouble. Paul was cognisant of this, and in the second Epistle seeks to banish the fears of Timothy, and to stir him up to a soldierly courage. Surely it is significant that this aspect of things is scarcely touched upon in the first letter, indicating that a new development had taken place both of trial and of character. "God has not given us," he says, "the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me, His prisoner, but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel, according to the power of God." "Be strong," he says later, "and endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." He appeals to him as though he were a sentry on duty: "Watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry."

He plies Timothy with an argument that must have gone straight to his heart. "I also suffer," he says, "nevertheless I am not ashamed." Yes, and more, Onesiphorus, whom you know so well, he was not ashamed of my chain, but when he was in Rome he sought me out very diligently and found me. He returns again and again to his own condition as giving force to his appeals, and a right to make them. "I suffer trouble, as an evil-doer, even unto bonds . . . I endure all things. Thou hast fully known my doctrine and manner of life . . . and what persecutions I endured." And then he adds with a sorrowful sort of stedfastness, "yea, and all that will live godly in Christ

Jesus shall suffer persecution." As though he would have Timothy understand that there could be no sort of escape, unless indeed, he gave up the faith he professed.

In bringing this paper to a conclusion, it may be claimed that the character deduced from the various passages in the two Epistles hangs together, and is consistent with the conditions under which Timothy lived, and the circumstances of his parentage and upbringing; we feel that we have been dealing with a real person. That he was a man of a lovable nature, and of fine piety, need hardly be said; that he possessed qualities that indicated his fitness for a difficult post, must also be admitted; for Paul would never have asked him to undertake the onerous duties involved in the supervision of the Christian Church at Ephesus, if he had not been endowed with some fitness to discharge them; but he was not a man who could stand firmly alone.

It is inconceivable that the apostle should so often have urged him to take a bold stand, if he had evidently possessed a dauntless courage; nor would he so often have warned him against the claims of a false knowledge, if he had not been over-inclined to listen to them; nor would he have bidden him see to it that no man despised his youth, if it had been a needless injunction. We may safely say that when Paul himself was known as a young man, whose name was Saul, at whose feet the murderers of Stephen cast down their clothes, no one would have despised him.

It is reported that Timothy remained at Ephesus for many years after Paul's death; if so, it is just within the bounds of possibility that he was none other than the angel of the Church in that city, who is addressed in one of the letters to the seven churches which were in Asia. And again, if so, it is interesting to observe that something of the same type of character is there suggested, as that which we have already discovered. "I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, . . . and that for my

sake thou hast laboured, and hast not fainted." There is the unassuming, long suffering, laborious man, who wins all our hearts, "But," continues the Divine Word, "I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love." Was that the sorrowful explanation of wavering and of weakness? We cannot tell, but if it was, it explains all.

The authenticity of the pastoral epistles has been called in question: Renan, in his bold way, calls the writer of them a forger, who perhaps incorporated some authentic notes of Paul in his apocryphal composition; and the School of Baur, as might have been expected, gives them short shrift, rejecting the whole of them. Such criticism can be met on its own ground, but is there not another method? Forgery stumbles, not when it sets itself deliberately to delineate character, but when character is not so much carefully outlined as taken for granted, and made the groundwork (almost invisible) of the superstructure. And if we have discovered in these letters a character consistent with itself and with its circumstances, if a score of delicate suggestions make us feel that we are dealing with a living man, who is being dealt with by one stronger than himself, whose words vibrate with the personal element, then we feel that we have got into that atmosphere in which the mere literary actor and the forger cannot live, and we gain a new evidence that these two letters are rightly entitled the First and the Second Epistles of Paul the Apostle to Timothy.

EDWARD MEDLEY.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CODEX BEZÆ.

"THE internal character of Codex Beza is a most difficult and indeed an almost inexhaustible theme." Thus wrote Dr. Scrivener in a passage of his Introduction, which, as the new editor tells us (vol. i., p. 130), was penned before the publication of the highly ingenious treatise by Mr. Rendel Harris, entitled *A Study of the Codex Beza* (1891). After Harris, Mr. Chase took quite a different look at it, pointing to the Syriac element in Codex Beza, and now the question has taken quite a new start, or will do so, by the theory put forward by Prof. Blass, of Halle, that, as far as the Acts are concerned, this Codex has preserved us quite a different recension or edition of that book, flowing, as it seems to him, from the first draught or rough copy of Luke's text, while the other MSS. go back on the altered copy forwarded to Theophilus. Compare the Prolegomena of *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber alter*: editio philologica apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata auctore Friderico Blass, Göttingen, 1895.

It is not my intention to enter upon this theme at large—I have not even the necessary books for doing so—but I believe I have made two observations, one as to the text and the other as to the origin of the Codex, which may turn out very important, if they be proved. If any one has already started them before me, I most willingly concede the priority, and beg to excuse my ignorance by my distance from all centres of learning.

1. My first observation is that the *Greek text* of the first chapters of *Acts* as contained in Codex Beza shows *clear traces of an underlying Semitic original*, namely, Acts ii. 47. All our Greek manuscripts and other sources read: ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν λαόν; Codex Beza alone πρὸς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, *apud totum mundum*. As Prof. Blass

remarks, *κόσμος* may be used here in a similar way to John vii. 4, xii. 19 in the sense which the word has in modern Greek = *le monde* = *les hommes*. But to a reader more versed in Hebrew and Syriac another thought might occur.

Λαός is = ܐܠܗ, ܐܠܗ and *κόσμος* is = ܐܠܗ, ܐܠܗ. How easily these two words have been confounded, a few examples will suffice to show. First, one from the New Testament.

2 Peter ii. 1, ἐν τῷ λαῷ: Tischendorf quotes as variant, Syr. Bodl., *in mundo*. Now, it has long since been shown (1886) by I. H. Hall, in his edition of the William Manuscript, that the latter has correctly ܐܠܗ (people), and that ܐܠܗ (world) in the Bodleian copy is a mere clerical error of the Syrian copyist. This variant has to disappear from the critical apparatus.

Another example from the Old Testament. In 1 Esdr. iv. 40 we have the doxology: καὶ αὐτῇ—thus must be read, instead of αὐτῇ—ἡ ἰσχύς καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλειότης τῶν πάντων αἰώνων: of all ages. Ball, in his *Variorum Apocrypha*, quotes for the last word as variant: “peoples, Syr.” But it is clear, Syriac ܐܠܗ (peoples) is again a mere misspelling for ܐܠܗ (ages).

On three witnesses a cause stands; therefore one more example from an ecclesiastical text. Within the last year, by a strange coincidence, the *Vita Antonii* was published twice, printed in the same printing house, the whole text by P. Bedjan in the fifth volume of his *Acta Martyrum*, the first part only by Friedr. Schulthess, of Zurich, in a dissertation of the University of Strassburg. Schulthess used three MSS. of the British Museum, Bedjan also three, one of them being identical with one used by Schulthess. Now, where Bedjan reads ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ, and the people slept (p. 19 l. 8), Schulthess has ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ (p. 14 l. 1.) and the world slept. Neither gives any variant in his critical apparatus;

from this *argumentum ex silentio* we would have to conclude that all three MSS. of Bedjan have ܠܬ, and the three copies of Schulthess ܠܬܬ. This cannot be true, as one identical MS. was used by both; but it is perhaps the best proof how easily ܠܬ and ܠܬܬ are confounded. The possibility at least seems, therefore, settled, that *λαός* and *κόσμος* may go back to an identical Semitic text, in which at one time ܠܬܬ ܕܠܥ, and at another ܠܬ ܕܥ, was believed to stand.

We have, by the bye, in the New Testament, perhaps, a further example of this confusion: Luke ii. 10, where we hear of the great joy which shall be to all the *people* (R.V.) *παντὶ τῷ λαῷ*, the Syriac version, at least in the printed editions at my disposal, has: to all the *world*, ܠܬܬ; and it is a new example of the insufficient representation of this Queen of the Versions in our critical editions that Tischendorf does not mention this at all. The newly discovered Lewis-Codex has also ܠܬܬ, *world*, likewise the Arabic Tatian, while Philoxenus and the Hierosolymitan render *λαῷ*. I should not wonder if a Syriac MS. of the Peshito be found reading ܠܬ.

But I must haste to another passage, which, to my understanding at least, makes the supposition of a Semitic original not only possible or likely, but even *necessary*.

Acts iii. 14 we read: *ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε*; Tischendorf notes: D, *εβαρυνατε*, item *I^{int}* *aggravastis* (d. *grabastis*), Aug., pecc. mer. 28, *inhonorastis et negastis*. Beside the remark that the palimpsest of Fleury, which in other places agrees with D, has here *negastis*, Prof. Blass has added nothing to the critical apparatus. In the commentary he merely says: D *plane mire εβαρυνατε*. I am not aware that any one has tried to explain this apparently strange *εβαρυνατε*. To me it seems pretty clear *αρνεισθαι* is = ܐܪܢܝܬܐ (ܐܪܢܐ); compare the Syriac, and *βαρυν*, *βαρυνειν*—a look into Hatch-Redpath will suffice—is = ܒܪܝܢ

(Job xv. 10, xxxv. 16). *Can we escape the conclusion, that he who wrote εβαπυατε, translated a Semitic text, in which he believed he read כְּבָרָתָם, while another, or the same afterwards in revising his translation, read כְּפָרָתָם = ηγνησασθε?*

Prof. Blass has asked for the first eight chapters of Acts: "*num ex ore narrantium omnia exceperit Lucas, an etiam commentarios quosdam adhibuerit ab hoc vell illo—he thinks of Mark and Barnabas—perscriptos.*" On internal grounds he has quite decided for the latter supposition, not only as to the speeches of Peter and Stephen, but also as to the narrative parts, in which these speeches are imbedded: "*putandumque erit, satis amplos eos commentarios fuisse, pertinentes fortasse a primis originibus ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ usque ad mortem Herodis Antipæ.*"

I believe it to be proved, by this observation on the text of Codex Bezaë, that *Luke used for the first chapter of Acts a written source, and that this account was a Semitic one*; whether Hebrew or Aramaic, I cannot discuss at present; εβαπυατε favours the supposition of a Hebrew one.

2. My second observation touches the origin and home of Codex Bezaë. The *plane mira lectio* εβαπυατε is to be found already with Irenæus. There is another passage where a *mere clerical error of D* is also already attested to by that father.

Acts v. 31: the first hand of D has τῇ δόξῃ, instead of τῇ δεξιᾷ. A corrector, whom Scrivener calls B, changed it into δεξια. By a strange coincidence, also, the Latin text of D has here a clerical error, *caritatem*, instead of *claritatem*. That δόξῃ is nothing but a misspelling may be proved by the fact that the same kind of error occurs elsewhere. 2 Chron. xxx. 8 all our Greek MSS. read: δότε δόξαν κυρίῳ, the Hebrew ט' showing that it must be δεξιάν. Isaiah lxii. 8, we read ωμοσεν κυριος κατα της δοξης αυτου; but not only have Ximenes, Aldus, Grabe printed δεξιᾶς, but the corrector of the Codex Vaticanus Ba changed this

δόξης into δεξίας, just like the corrector of D. Now this very δόξης is again testified by Irenæus: *gloria*. Indeed, a respectable age of this misspelling, but we wonder less at it, if the supposition of Blass be true, that D goes back on a rough 'copy, a first draught, which probably was written not very calligraphically. Be this as it may, the point that I am now concerned with is this: Beza himself testifies, in the letter by which he presented his treasure to the University of Cambridge, that he got it "ex Irenæi cœnobio Lugdunensi." I do not see that those who lately discussed the origin of the Codex took any notice of this very curious coincidence. I have not time or means of taking up the question at length, but I may express my belief that Codex D was written in the very place from whence it got into the possession of Beza, in *the town of Irenæus*, perhaps from his own copy, and that in Acts at least it preserved us a text of the utmost importance, a text which leads us back not only to the Greek of Luke, but to the Semitic originals which Luke made use of.

3. On Luke xi. 2 Tischendorf remarks:—

Praeterea D add (: e Mt.) μὴ βαττολογεῖτε ὡς (d sicut et) οἱ λοιποὶ δοκοῦσιν γάρ τινες, etc.

If D takes from our Greek Matthew, why does he not write ὡς οἱ ἐθνικοί, as we read Mt. vi. 7, or οἱ ὑποκριταί as given by B ^{syr}^{cur}. Neither is τινες found in any MS. of the first Gospel.

The natural supposition is, that ἐθνικοί and λοιποί go back to a common Semitic, Hebrew or Aramaic, original. If I consult the new Oxford Concordance of Hatch-Redpath under λοιποί, it is true that I find there nothing to help me; but, strange to say, the old Thesaurus of Biel—Trommius is not at my disposal—is here better.

Dan. 7, 20 we read, with Theodotion, ἡ δρασις αὐτοῦ μείζων τῶν λοιπῶν; with the Chisianus: ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτοῦ ὑπερέφερε τὰ ἄλλα, exactly corresponding to the Aramaic

וְחֻזָּה רַב מִן חִבְרָתָהּ, חִבְרָה, fem. חִבְרָא being the commonest Aramaic word for *alius*, *socius*, *ἕτερος*, *ἑταῖρος*, *λοιπός*, and I cannot understand why Hatch-Redpath marked the passage with the Obelus, which implies that the identification between Greek and Hebrew (Aramaic) "is doubtful, or at least that a student should examine the passage for himself." Sub ἄλλος, col. 56, חִבְרָה is duly given at the head of the article (better, however חִבְרָא, with א to recognise it at once as Aramaic).

Now, if we resort to the root חִבַּר in a Hebrew Concordance, for instance that of Kircher, to look there for its Greek equivalents, what do we find? Just beside the passage quoted from Daniel for *λοιπός* another Greek rendering

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Job xl. 25 (30) ἐνσιτοῦνται δὲ αὐτόν ἔθνη: יִכְרוּ עָלָיו חִבְרִים. Is this coincidence accidental? Or does *λοιποί* of D and *ἐθνικοί* of our Matthew go back to a common חִבְרִים? There can be no doubt: Jesus speaks, Mt. vi. 5ff., of the Pharisees and their practice of prayer: חִבְרִים denotes, as is well known, the communities of the Pharisees (Schürer, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2, 319, 333). In the connexion there is nothing to make us think of heathen praxis in prayer: Jesus used חִבְרִים in this Jewish sense here as well as in Mt. v. 47, xviii. 17.

EBERHARD NESTLE.

ON THE GOD-MAN.

III. THE INCARNATION AND THE UNITY OF CHRIST'S PERSON.

WE have considered the incarnation in relation, first, to the Trinity; and, second, to human nature. We must, lastly, enquire what relation the different states of the Logos will sustain to one another. He is the second person in the Godhead, and, as such, he is the Archetype of man. The Archetype of man becomes actual Man, the God-Man. What is the relation between the Trinitarian Logos and the Logos incarnate? What relation does the Logos incarnate bear to the humanity which He assumed? Has His mode of existence as a divine Person been affected or not? In other words, did He suffer *kenosis* or empty Himself in any way of a Divine attribute? Lastly, is His humanity in any sense personal, or altogether impersonal? If it is personal, does the personality consist in the Divine or the human hypostasis?

1. While we must maintain that the Logos "came out from God," we are compelled to believe also that the Logos ever retains His eternal position within the Godhead. He fills two distinct spheres of action, the one as second Person in the Trinity, without beginning and without end, without humiliation and without subsequent exaltation; the other as Logos incarnate or God-Man, which mode of existence He assumed at the incarnation, but will continue to have for ever; and it is the same divine Person that occupies both positions. The whole personality of the Son became incarnate, and, at the same

time, the whole personality of the Son continued to exist and act without incarnation, as sustainer of the universe. "And no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven,"¹ and Christ clearly taught "that He came forth and is come from God."²

So Athanasius³ says: "The Logos, while present in the human body and Himself quickening it, was, without inconsistency, quickening the universe as well and was in every process of nature"; and Calvin⁴ to a similar purport: "The Son of God descended in a wonderful manner from heaven, but so that He did not leave heaven." As God is all everywhere, not part here and part there, so the Logos is all within the Trinity and all within humanity, but His mode of existence, of thought, and of action differs. In the New Testament an act done in one state is ascribed to the Logos, who exists, at the same time, in the other state.

The famous patristic phrase, *communicatio idiomatum*⁵

¹ John iii. 13. Westcott and Hort omit the words "which is in heaven" from their Edition of the Greek Test.; but Tregelles and Tischendorf insert them in their texts. They are also inserted in the Revised Version, but a marginal note apprises the reader of their "omission by many ancient authorities."

² John viii. 42.

³ *De Incarn.*, § 17, οὐ γὰρ δὴ περιεκλεισμένος ἦν ἐν τῷ σώματι οὐδὲ ἐν σώματι μὲν ἦν, ἀλλαχόσε δὲ οὐκ ἦν. οὐδὲ ἐκείνο μὲν ἐκίνει, τὰ ὅλα δὲ τῆς τούτου ἐνεργείας καὶ προνοίας κεκένωτό· ἀλλὰ τὸ παραδοξότατον, Λόγος ὢν, οὐ συνέλχето μὲν ὑπὸ τινος, συνέλχε δὲ τὰ πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτός καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει ὢν, ἐκτὸς μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντος κατ' οὐσίαν, ἐν πᾶσι δὲ ἐστὶ ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεσι, τὰ πάντα διακοσμῶν, καὶ εἰς πάντα ἐν πᾶσι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐφαπλῶν, καὶ ἕκαστον καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ ζωοποιῶν, περιέχων τὰ ὅλα καὶ μὴ περιεχόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ἐαυτοῦ Πατρὶ ὅλος ὢν κατὰ πάντα· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι ὢν, καὶ αὐτὸς ζωοποιῶν, εἰκότως ἐζωοποιεῖ καὶ τὰ ὅλα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἔξω τῶν ὅλων ἦν.

⁴ *Inst.*, II. xiii. 4, "Mirabiliter enim e coelo descendit Filius Dei, ut coelum tamen non relinqueret."

⁵ Ἀντίδοσις τῶν ἰδιωμάτων. Cf. Athan., *Or. IV. c. Arian.*, § 6; for the Lutheran view cf. *Die Dogmatik, etc.*, von H. Schmid, p. 256 sqq. The true meaning is given by John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, III. 3, οἰκειοῦται δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὁ Λόγος· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς ὄντα καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῇ σαρκὶ τῶν ἰδίων κατὰ τὸν ἀντιδόσεως τρόπον, διὰ τὴν εἰς ἄλλα τῶν μέρων περιχώρησιν, καὶ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωσιν, καὶ ὅτι εἰς ἦν καὶ ὁ αὐτός, ὁ καὶ θεὸς καὶ

has been applied to the relation of the Person of the Logos incarnate to the human nature which He assumed. But it may with equal reason be applied to the different states of the Logos, His Trinitarian and His incarnate conditions. For, rightly interpreted, the phrase means that actions done in both states are actions of the same person, whether the person has changed the condition only or assumed another nature as well. As the Logos incarnate is real Son of God, and not another person, any change in the mode of His existence consequent upon His incarnation will not affect the mode of existence of the other two Persons in the Trinity. The Father did not become incarnate. The *perichoresis* within the Trinity does not touch the Logos so far as He is incarnate; and, on the other hand, the *communicatio idiomatum* will become the *perichoresis* of the Logos incarnate, as Damascene says, but will not touch the other Persons of the Trinity. On the other hand, the phrase "community of properties," if incorrectly interpreted, is a mere figment;¹ for an action done in one state or in one nature must not be attributed to the other state or nature. Such expressions as "the Lamb that created the world," "the Son of God shed His blood," are much deprecated and condemned by some writers, while others are fond of using them. They colour the piety of Roman Catholic composers of hymns, such as F. W. Faber, and they tinge the devotion of a very different school of theology, which has been influenced by Zinzendorf and the Methodist revival. They are theologically correct, and, within the bounds of good

τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ μορφῇ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας. διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρώσθαι λέγεται, καίτοι τῆς θέας αὐτοῦ μὴ παθούσης φύσεως, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ εἶναι ὡμολόγηται, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἔφησεν.

¹ Cf. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, II. p. 392: "By this is not meant (as some Lutherans said) that one nature participates in the attributes of the other, but simply that the person is the *κοινωνός*, or partaker of the attributes of both natures."

taste, they are to be commended as the vehicle, and only vehicle, of true feelings; for they emphasize the identity of the Logos in all states.

2. In reference to the second question, the relation of the human nature of Christ to His person, the right understanding of the *communicatio idiomatum* will help us here also. For instance, the term θεοτόκος, *Deipara*, or, as it has been usually rendered, "Mother of God,"¹ is rightly vindicated by Dr. Charles Hodge.² For, though Mary was not the bearer of the Godhead of the Logos, either in His Trinitarian mode of existence or even as incarnate Logos; she was bearer of the Logos as to His human nature. If it is correct to say that the Logos was incarnate, it is correct to say that He was "made of a woman."³ He who was made under the law is the person who was made of a woman. He was made under the law through incarnation, continuing to be the same Person that He had ever been, Son of God, and He was made of a woman, in virtue of the humanity that He assumed. Similarly, if it is correct to say that the Son of God became Man, it is correct to say that the Son of God suffered, that the Son of God shed His blood, [that the Son of God died. "Though it would be an error to say that the Godhead was born or died, it is absolutely necessary to say that He who was God was born and died." Yet even this, however true, is not enough. Ordinary men are passive in these circumstances; but they became personal acts on the part of Christ. Men are born into the world and pass out of life. The former is never in the case of other men a moral act; the latter only in the case of some men. The Son of God came

¹ Luke i. 43, "the mother of my Lord," where "Lord" must mean "Jehovah."

² *Syst. Theol.*, II. p. 393. He also cites Turretin.

³ *Gal.* iv. 4.

into the world, by means of birth, from a previous state of existence, and, by means of death, ascended up where He was before. Each was a personal state that began in a personal act, into which the Son of God threw the energy of a Divine power, and made it, by so doing, redemptive.¹ It is right, again, to worship Christ in His human nature, though the doctrine ascribed to Apollinarius must be rejected; for it would be idolatry to worship the human nature of Christ in and by itself.²

But so strong is the tendency to what is known as Nestorianism, that theologians are, in every age, more or less under its fascination. Even Athanasius himself could not altogether escape. For instance, he frequently speaks about the Logos assuming flesh as a garment (*ἐφόρεσεν*), the very word of Nestorius.³ When, again, Athanasius discusses the human limits of our Lord's knowledge, he admits that it was a real, not a pretended, ignorance. But when he says "that the flesh of Christ was ignorant, though the Logos Himself, as such, knew everything before it came to pass," he calls it an economy. But it is an economy that is really based on the duality of Christ's Person, and he is very often hard put to vindicate the morality of it. Is it not the same thing as saying that the ignorance of our Lord's human nature was fictitiously assumed? Can it be thus restricted to the human side of His personality? When He asked where the body of Lazarus was laid, can we conceive that as Logos He knew where it lay and as a Man did not know? Can we sup-

¹ Cf. *The Doctrine of the Atonement*, by the late Dr. Lewis Edwards, p. 123 (E.T.).

² Cf. Jackson, *Works*, B. XI. ch. 3, "The glory of the Godhead, which dwelleth bodily in Christ, is infinite. But it is not communicated to Christ's human body according to His infinity; the communication of it, or the glory communicated is created and, therefore, finite."

³ Cf. Schaft, *History of the Church, Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity*, p. 718, "This garment which he used I honour on account of the God which was covered therein, etc."

pose the plea of "economic ignorance" would be accepted in the court of conscience among men? ¹ Again, Athanasius denied that the Logos personally either feared death or wept. It was His humanity that feared death and wept. "Is it not extravagant," he asks, "to admire the courage of the servants of the Logos [the martyrs], yet to say that the Logos Himself was in terror, through whom [rather, for whose sake] they despised death." ² Still more strange, Athanasius, from dread of admitting the *kenosis*, or self-emptying of the Logos, is in some passages led to deny His personal exaltation: "It is no absurdity then, if, as for our sakes He humbled Himself, so also for our sakes He is said to be highly exalted. So 'He gave to Him,' that is, to us for His sake: and 'He highly exalted Him,' that is, us in Him." ³ "When our Lord as Man," he says elsewhere, "was washed in Jordan, it was we who were washed in Him and by Him." In the same spirit Cyril of Jerusalem ⁴ virtually denies the humiliation of the Logos: "Christ sits on the right hand of God, not as a reward of patient endurance, but as His eternal right and in consequence of His eternal generation." And Athanasius, who, as we have seen, makes the distinction between the Logos in the Trinity and the Logos incarnate, ignores the glorification, like Cyril, though in

¹ Or. III. c. Arian., § 38, οὐ γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων, ὁμοῦς αὐτὸς ὡς εἰληφώς λέγεται ἀπερ ἐλάβανεν ἀνθρωπίνως κ.τ.λ., ib. § 48, οὐτε ἐψεύσατο τοῦτο εἰρηκῶς (ἀνθρωπίνως γὰρ εἶπεν, ὡς ἀνθρώπος, οὐκ οἶδα). Cf. Cyril Alex., Ep. XLV. p. 137, ὡς ἀνθρώπος οἰκονομικῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως διαλέγεται. Hilary, De Trin., IX. 62, "Ignoratio ejus, secundum quod omnes thesauri in eo scientiæ latent, dispensatio potius quam ignoratio est."

² Or. III. c. Arian., § 57: πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀτοπον τῶν μὲν θεραπόντων τοῦ Λόγου θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀνδρείαν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Λόγον λέγειν δειλιᾶν, δι' ὃν κἀκεῖνος τοῦ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν.

³ Or. IV. c. Arian., § 7, οὐδὲν οὖν ἀτοπον εἰ, ὥσπερ δι' ἡμᾶς ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς λέγεται ὑπερυψῶσθαι. ἐχαρίσατο οὖν αὐτῷ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμῖν δι' αὐτόν, καὶ ὑπερύψωσεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ.

⁴ Cat. IV. vii., οὐ γὰρ, ὡς τινες ἐνόμισαν, μετὰ τὸ πάθος στεφανωθείς, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἔλαβε τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ θρόνον· ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὐπὲρ ἐστίν, [ἐστὶ δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ πατρὸς δεῖ] ἔχει τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα.

another way. He denies the exaltation of the person and ventures to assert the deification of the human nature: ὑψώσις δὲ ἣν θεοποιεῖσθαι αὐτόν.¹ We find Augustine also speaking to the same effect, when he says "that the whole human nature [of our Lord] was elevated by its union with Him without His being lowered in any degree";² and Leo maintains that our Lord did not lay aside the form of God.³ "Remaining what He was and putting on what He was not," is the remark of Dr. Owen.⁴ We meet with the same unwillingness to break with Nestorianizing tendencies in Eustathius, as cited by Theodoret:⁵ "Not indeed that the Logos was subject to the law, as our calumnious opponents suppose we say, being Himself the law." This, though the Apostle says that the *Son* of God⁶ "was made under the law." The only way out of these apparent denials of the incarnation is to suppose that the great writers we have cited admit, but not consistently, the distinction made already between the Trinitarian Logos and the Logos incarnate.

But even this admission is not an adequate solution of

¹ In *Or. III. c. Arian.*, § 48, Athanasius regards the deification of the human nature of our Lord as taking place at His exaltation: λοιπὸν γὰρ ἥν ἡ σὰρξ ἀναστᾶσα καὶ ἀποθεμένη τὴν νέκρωσιν καὶ θεοποιηθεῖσα. But elsewhere he seems to connect it with the incarnation, *ib.* § 38, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον θεὸς ὢν, προσελάμβανε τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὢν ἐθεοποίη τὴν σάρκα. But this may refer to the exaltation.

² Tract. LXXVIII. in Joann., "Forma quippa servi accessit, non forma Dei recessit: haec est assumpta, non illa consumpta."

³ *Ep. XI., Ad Flav.*, "Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et substantiae, et in unum coeunte personam, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab eternitate mortalitas. . . . In integra ergo veri hominis perfectaque natura verus natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris. . . . Proinde qui manens in forma Dei fecit hominem, idem in forma servi factus est homo. . . . Sicut formam servi Dei forma non adimit, ita formam Dei servi forma non minuit."

⁴ *Vindiciae Evangelicae*, chap. xiii. (Vol. XII. p. 287, Goold's Ed.) Dr. Owen's argument is that the form of God means the Divine nature.

⁵ *Dial.*, II. p. 136, ὅτε δὲ ὁ Λόγος ὑπέκειτο τῷ νόμῳ, καθάπερ οἱ συκοφάνται δοξάζουσιν, αὐτὸς ὢν ὁ νόμος, ὅτε ὁ θεὸς εἶδεν θυμάτων καθαρσιῶν, ἀθρόα ῥῆγ καθαρίζων πάντα, καὶ ἀγιάζων κ.τ.λ.

⁶ Gal. iv. 4, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.

the difficulties unless we add the theory of the *kenosis*,¹ or self-emptying of the Logos, in His state of incarnation, in some form or other. Athanasius, as we have seen, admits the former, and stoutly denies the latter. He declares his belief in the distinction between the mode of existence of the Logos in the Trinity and His mode of existence in virtue of the incarnation ; and discovers the outlet from the labyrinth in unduly exalting the humanity of Christ, so much so that he falls on occasion into what afterwards developed into Nestorianism. And, at first, it might appear that if we admit the distinction now mentioned, we might avoid Nestorianism by a careful judgment as to the length we are prepared to go in the direction of Nestorianism. For why should Athanasius have admitted the distinction between the Trinitarian and the incarnate Logos at all ? Because he saw the necessity of maintaining the identity of the Logos in every state. He distinguishes his modes of existence that he may not sacrifice that identity. But, for the same reason, he feared to go *too far* in making distinctions. For instance, he feared to admit fully the humiliation of the Logos so as to ascribe limitation of knowledge to the Logos, and he preferred deifying the human nature of the Logos to using expressions which the sacred writers frankly and unhesitatingly employ. But, as the fulness and glory of the incarnation lies in the true, Divine personality of the Logos, so also the self-sacrifice which the incarnation implies is the act of the same Logos. The initiative in the incarnation must be ascribed to the Logos ; that initiative is an ethical act, a " becoming poor,"² based

¹ Cf. Meyer on Rom. viii. 3 and Phil. ii. 6 ; Arndt, *True Christianity*, Pt. II., Bk. II., ch. i. § 7, Eng. trans., pub. 1744, " For when the faithful soul, that is conscious of her own vileness, reflects upon the humiliation of the Son of God, and beholds Him humbling Himself after such a manner, as not only to put off the form of God, that He might appear in that of man, but even to suffer the greatest evils too in this vile form, . . . there springeth up a most noble flame of Divine charity."

² 2 Cor. viii. 9. This verse explains Phil. ii. 6.

upon a change of metaphysical condition. The Apostle calls it a self-emptying, which is a word so extreme and emphatic that we must beware of making the fact that it is unique a reason for refining it away.

It was not in dying on the Cross that the Son of God began to sacrifice Himself, but in assuming human nature into union with His Divine Person; not as if the assumption of itself involved humiliation, for then the humiliation of our Lord would continue for ever. But His incarnation involved His divesting Himself for a time of the form of God and taking upon Him instead of the form of God the form of a servant. It is true that He had already obeyed His Father's command by incarnating Himself; and, even previously to the act of incarnation, he was already from eternity ideally, though not actually, a servant, when He was king. But now He took the form and position of a servant, in which form it was not competent for Him to assume the kingship without dying to regain it.

The doctrine of the self-emptying of the Logos is found in Origen, among the Fathers.¹ But it was not favoured in the early Church, owing to the influence of Athanasius, and to the extreme and confessedly heretical form in which it was thought² to be presented by Apollinarius. He explained the words *ὡς ἄνθρωπος* in Philippians ii. 7 as meaning simply that the humanity of the Logos was, not real Man, but like man. The fact is, the doctrine of the kenosis would preserve us from this erroneous interpretation. The words "in the likeness of men" are significant. But they refer to the humiliation of the Logos incarnate. In the Trinity the Second Person is, in idea, human; but

¹ *Hom. in Jer.*, I. 7, 'Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ παιδίον ὢν, ἐπεὶ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, προέκοπτεν . . . εἰ γὰρ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, ἐλάμβανε πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφ' ὧν ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, ἐκὼν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν, τί ἄτοπον αὐτὸν καὶ προκεκοφέναι σοφία καὶ ἡλικία καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

² Successful attempts have of late been made to vindicate the orthodoxy of Apollinarius.

through incarnation He assumed actually the *humanlike* condition, though He continued to be God.

In this century we are indebted to Thomasius¹ for the first elucidation of the kenotic theory. Dr. Bruce has subjected² it to very clear and most powerful, but to my mind not convincing, criticism. In the first place, he says that, according to the Thomasian doctrine, the incarnation involves at once an act of assumption and an act of self-limitation, the former an exercise of omnipotence, the latter the loss of omnipotence, and asks, Are such contrary effects of one act of will compatible? But there is no contradiction here. In the creation of the world God passes from a state of quiescence to a state of activity. Ambrose, as Dr. Bruce points out,³ explains the incarnation as the opposite movement—a Divine Person withdrawing Himself from activity that He might be subject to infirmity. In the second place, Dr. Bruce acutely observes that the depotentiated Logos seems superfluous, because it implies that He has been reduced to a state of helpless passivity or impotence. But the *kenosis* consists of two successive steps. The first step was the laying aside the form of God, and this act the Apostle dates back in the pre-incarnate state of the Logos. It was an infinite act of self-denial, than which a lesser would have been impossible to him, as well as incapable of being revealed as an ethical example to men. Then, when He had divested Himself of His metaphysical omnipotence as Son of God, and was “found in fashion as a man,” He humbled Himself—an expression properly applicable only to a man or the Logos as man⁴—and He humbled Himself more than would have been possible to any mere man or angel, however perfect, and however

¹ *Christi Person und Werk*, 2 vols., 1886.

² *Humiliation of Christ*, Lect. IV.

³ *Ib.*, p. 217.

⁴ Dr. Bruce applies it, in his *Apologetics*, to God.

much aided by the Spirit of God. For our Lord's moral omnipotence still remained to Him, and the help of the Spirit was added, which enabled Him to become obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross, and constituted His obedience redemptive—priestly and sacrificial. The contrast between the form of God and the obedience unto death, even the death of the cross, is infinite, for redemptive reasons. Further, the moral height of perfection, obtained through the human discipline of His life, was greater than human. All this will, I think, answer also Dr. Bruce's fourth objection, that the Logos incarnate is to all intents and purposes a human soul, and therefore a superfluous dualism ensues. I admit the dualism, and think it necessary for the reasons now mentioned. In the third place, Dr. Bruce objects that the kenotic theory introduces a break in the consciousness of the Logos as God. This holds good especially of Martensen's form of the doctrine,¹ and we must confess Martensen's position "that the Son of God was in the womb, not as a self-conscious Divine Ego, but as an unripe, unborn child," and "whilst advancing in years and becoming more and more conscious of itself as a human Ego, became also in the same measure conscious of its Deity," is unthinkable. But this is unessential to the doctrine. Quiescence does not mean annihilation. With Dr. Bruce's criticism of Gess's extreme form of the theory we fully agree.² Gess introduced the unnecessary and inconsistent supposition that the Logos divested Himself of all Divine attributes. Among English theologians who accept the doctrine of the *kenosis* are Canon Gore³ and Principal Fairbairn.⁴

All that is essential is that the Logos did not in any way

¹ *Christian Dogmatics*, Sect. 132, E. T.

² *Christi Person und Werk*, 2 vols., 1870. An abridged translation by Dr. Reubelt of an earlier edition (1856) appeared in America in 1876.

³ *Bampton Lectures* for 1891, Lect. vi., p. 158.

⁴ *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 476.

or measure hamper the free activity of the humanity. An omniscient or omnipotent man, not in need of the unction and power of the Spirit, is inconceivable, but a perfectly just and loving man, having the Spirit, is not. If the Divine side of the complex personality of Christ is the initiatory and productive element, the human side is the regulative. So much on the kenosis.¹

As the Logos emptied Himself of the form of God by becoming incarnate, it is equally true that the God-Man became gradually more full in the content of His human nature, and consequently more full, because of the communion of properties, in the endowments of His Divine Person as well. If He became poor for our sake, for our sake He became also more rich. If He surrendered much, He received as much in gifts and graces. In the Gospel of John He prays that He may receive as a reward the glory which He had with the Father before the world was.² In the epistles we are told that His prayer was fully heard. Corresponding to the kenosis of Philippians ii. 6, we have in Ephesians v. 9-13 mention of what we may call the anaplerosis of Christ. When He ascended at His exaltation, He received gifts, and not only received, but (as the Apostle interprets the Old Testament prophecy) "*gave gifts unto men.*" Now this ascension corresponds to a previous descent, and is its result, for it is the ascension of one who had been in the form of God, and had emptied Himself. It is the very Person who had descended that ascended afterwards, that He might fill the whole universe with His efficacious presence. In verse 13 the words "fulness of Christ" are found, the fulness with which Christ is filled,

¹ It may be thought that the expression, "emptied Himself" is too strong to convey the idea of simple quiescence of certain powers. But it should be remembered that the emphasis lies on its being Christ's own act. It is this that conferred an ethical character on it, and its ethical character gave it power as an example to men.

² John xvii. 5.

and which has come as His reward for the previous self-emptying.¹ The Apostle expresses the thought allegorically. The incarnation, an ethical act of self-sacrifice, he likens to a descent of Christ into regions lower than earth, that is, to the fact of the descent of Christ's soul into Hades, and the corresponding anaplerosis of Christ, another ethical act, but on the part of God, He represents as Christ's ascent above all heavens. But the fulness of Christ is as much a manifestation of Divine love as His self-sacrifice. For Christ's fulness is not simply His own reward, but the means of bestowing on Him power, in the language of the allegory, "to fill" all creation, from the regions above the heavens to the regions lower than the earth, with His personal activity. To His Church on earth He has given gifts, which consist of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teachers who are pastors, for the proximate purpose (εἰς) of the ministry and the building up thereby of the body of Christ, but for the ultimate purpose (πρός) of perfecting the saints, their corresponding fulness, until all attain to complete oneness of faith in, and knowledge of, the Son of God. Their previous imperfect graces differ from each other, not only in character, which is their excellence, but also because of their very fragmentariness, which is a defect. But as the entire Church is one organic whole, fitly framed and solidly compacted, so every member of it will grow from childhood to maturity; and the standard according to which, as well as the vital principle from which, the development of the body and of every member takes place, is the fulness of Christ, here called the "stature" or full age of Christ's development. Christ is no more in the "days of His flesh." He is Spirit,² and where the Lord the Spirit is, there is liberty, growth, ex-

¹ Cf. Cremer, *Lex.*, s.v. *πλήρωμα*, and especially Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Colossians*, p. 257 sqq.

² 2 Cor. iii. 17.

pansion. If we have known Christ according to the flesh, yet now we know Him no more; and for this reason (*οὖν*) if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation.¹ We all, therefore, with uncovered face, looking at the glory of the Lord as in a mirror, are transfigured from His glory unto our corresponding glory, as by the power of the Lord, who has been Himself transfigured into Spirit.² For His human nature is human nature at its best and highest; and He Himself, once self-emptied, now God-Man replenished, is become what He was not before, Saviour of all, and defined Son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness, His ethical Divine personality and presence, in consequence of His resurrection from the dead.³ To this also refer the words, "For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him," fully after His resurrection, and through His ascension, "should all the fulness dwell," He who emptied Himself has the fulness or form of God restored to Him,⁴ as "a wealth of glory"⁵ for His Church.

It was not in self-sacrifice alone that He gave us an example that we should follow His steps, but in the possession and use of every endowment. He is the ideal Man, the highest specimen of humanity, moral and spiritual, yea, Divine humanity, that the world will ever behold. His incarnation and humiliation was "becoming" (*ἐπεπε*) to him, and the crowning Him with glory and honour and universal sway on the throne of God equally becomes Him. The expression, "a genius was born in Bethlehem," is only incorrect because it is so utterly inadequate and one-sided, when applied to Him who has realized the grand possibilities of humanity beyond the imagination of any poet or the hope of any saint.

¹ 2 Cor. v. 17.

² 2 Cor. iii. 18.

³ Rom. i. 4.

⁴ Col. ii. 19.

⁵ Col. i. 27, τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης. It is difficult not to recognise an allusion to 2 Cor. viii. 9, ἐπτώχευσεν πλοῦσις ὢν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε, which is synonymous with εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκένωσεν of Phil. ii. 7.

In this connection we heartily approve and welcome the new phase which Apologetics exhibits in our time. Formerly the defence of Christianity started from the same principles as the Deists assume, that is to say, God was regarded as a mechanician, and the universe as governed by Him through "secondary causes."¹ For this reason our reliance always rested on miracles, and we were in the same stage of spiritual knowledge as Nicodemus, who said, "No man can do these signs that Thou doest, except God be with him." But things have changed, if Luther's saying be true, that the finite has the power of receiving the infinite into itself; and if, which is the same thing, the essential greatness of Christ is moral, and the incarnation is first of all a manifestation of infinite love within the limits of human action. Miracles come in the wake of Christ at the bidding of His compassion. The supernatural is to Him natural. The evidences of Christianity will, therefore, no longer consist in the "miracles which He did," but in Himself as He is manifested in His humanity. As His Divine life on earth did not transcend the human or become monstrous, His influence on others must be ethical. He will be God-Man, if He is infinite love. He will be the manifestation of infinite love if He can forgive sins, redeem and sanctify mankind.

3. We have spoken of our Lord's self-emptying and subsequent fulness, and have seen how the former was necessary to enable His humanity to act freely. Another—and our last—question is whether His incarnation involves any kind of *kenosis* in the human nature, to allow freedom of action on the part of His Divine Person. The earth attracts the sun, as the sun attracts the earth. This question refers to the hypostatic character of our Lord's human nature.

¹ Cf. the excellent remarks of the late Mr. Aubrey Moore in *Lux Mundi* p. 99.

The patristic theory was that the humanity of Christ was impersonal. This was defended by the late Canon Liddon on the plea "that to deny it is to assert that there are two Persons in Christ";¹ and again, "to speak of Christ as *a* Man may lead to a serious misconception; He is *the*² Man, or rather He is Man." We subscribe fully to Liddon's objection to Nestorianism. But all the writers of the New Testament represent Jesus Christ as *a* man, an individual man, as well as *the* Man, as truly a man as Paul or Peter. They all start with the humanity of Christ, and from it slowly pass to the belief in His Divinity. Personal acts are ascribed to His humanity, such as prayer, which can belong only to a creature, not to the Logos, except, indeed, ideally;³ and the temptations of Christ to sin are possible only to a human person. In a word, a human nature without personality of some sort would seem impossible and inconceivable. It is like assuming all the separate elements of humanity without that *suppositum* which gives them personal identity and continuance.

On the other hand, the prevailing view among the Re-

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. I., p. 35, footnote, and Lect. V., p. 387. Ed. of 1867.

² The use of the article in the A.V. in Tim. ii. 5 implies the very opposite of what Liddon seems to infer: "For there is one God, and one Mediator also between God and men, *the* Man Christ Jesus." In the Greek the article is omitted, and the R.V. has attempted to show the significance of the omission: "For there is one God, and one Mediator also between God and men, *Himself* Man, Christ Jesus." *All* men have but *one* God. But that *one* God desires *all*, without any difference arising from Himself, to be saved, and then if they are not all saved, the difference is in themselves. The one God has constituted Him Mediator, who partakes of the *oneness* of God, and is at the same time Himself *a man* (*ἄνθρωπος*) like other men—One among many brethren. Christ is not here the ideal Man, but, as in Rom. v. 15, He is "the one individual Man," as individual as Adam, through whom the many individual men died. The verse in Timothy really takes for granted that Christ is God, because He has the Divine oneness, as well that He is a Man, because He partakes of human individuality.

³ Heb. v. 7: ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ κτλ.

formers, received from John Damascene,¹ was that in itself the human nature of Christ was impersonal (*ἀνυπόστατος*) but became personal (*ἐνυπόστατος*) through the incarnation of the Divine Person, they rightly maintaining that the human nature never subsisted separately from His divinity. But the definition of person which was formerly accepted, "an exclusive whole,"² seems again to render it impossible to humanize the Divine personality in Christ. If so, we gain nothing by supposing the humanity to have the Divine hypostasis as its own hypostasis. Scripture, for instance, plainly teaches that Christ had two wills, a human as distinct from the Divine will; and that is the doctrine of the Church. But what becomes of the human will if we mean by it only the will of a Divine hypostasis? We desiderate something more; and we find it in Luther's conception of the human in Christ being united, after a completely unutterable manner, with the Deity so as to form one indivisible person.³ This is contained in His maxim already cited, "*finitum capax infiniti*." The infinite Person is capable of assuming a human personality. He does not cancel or absorb it, but permits it to live on after a human fashion, even when it has been personally united with the Divine, as a man can live either in his rational or in his physical state. Dorner himself, who has ably elucidated this conception of personality, accepts it.⁴ Illingworth,⁵ too, says that, "while all around us is rigorously finite, personality alone suggests infinitude of life": personality is not a fixed, exclusive *totum quiddam*, but "a seed, a germ, a potency," which we can imagine almost infinitely magnified in capacity, character, intensity, scope.

¹ *De Fide Orthodoxa*, III. viii., προσκυνεῖται γὰρ [ἡ σὰρξ] ἐν τῇ μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει ἥτις αὐτῇ ὑποστάσει γέγονεν.

² Cf. Schaff, *History of the Church*, Nicene and post-Nicene, vol. ii., p. 751, "*persona rationabilis naturæ individua subsistentia*."

³ Cf. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, Div. ii., vol. ii., p. 81 foll.

⁴ Cf. *System of Christian Doctrine*, vol. iii., p. 309.

⁵ *Bampton Lectures for 1894*, "Personality, Human and Divine."

An able American writer, Du Bose,¹ has a similar remark: "It is one thing to say that the Divine Logos united Himself with a human person whom He made to manifest Him, and it is another thing to say that He became and manifested Himself as a human Person. If He, being a Person, in any real and perfect sense, became human, then He became a human Person. . . . It is true that He is the Divine Logos realized in humanity—and between the *He* and the *We* there is all the difference between God and Man." Shedd² objects that Dörner is making an approach to Nestorianism. I confess it seems to me this doctrine is far removed from Nestorianism, inasmuch as it retains the unity of the Person. And how does it differ from Shedd's own doctrine that we must distinguish between the consciousness and the self-consciousness of Christ? "If the important distinction between consciousness and self-consciousness had been perceived and employed, the conscious experience of the person at a particular moment . . . would not have been mistaken for the permanent and immutable ego whose self-consciousness lies under all this stream of consciousness or experiences, and combines them into the unity of a person." As Professor Orr³ says: "There is a human side in the Logos, as there is a Divine side in man. . . . We do not deny in the doctrine of the incarnation, a true human personality in Christ; and that the personality of the Divine Son becomes also in the incarnate condition a truly human one."

Perhaps we may sum up the doctrine in the statement that the God-Man was a Divine Person who had a human as well as Divine personality. A writer in the *Guardian* of

¹ *The Soteriology of the New Testament*, chap. x.

² *Dogmatic Theology*, vol. iii., p. 391, where he criticises the Apollinarian theory and wrongly, it seems to the present writer, identifies it with "the whole kenotic controversy."

³ *Christian View of God and the World*, p. 284 foll.

July 17, 1895, has the following suggestive remarks: "It is common to speak of the limitation of personality, as though limitation were the most distinctive feature of personal life. This is virtually Mr. Balfour's view of human personality. As a matter of fact, we are on very safe ground in saying that nothing in experience is so unlimited as personality. . . . Personality is not *a* person. What is characteristic of personality is that it is not realised except in a close intercommunion and interpenetration of persons. . . . It is, in fact, the final characteristic and true definition of personality that it is the capacity for love, not for self-consciousness, but for self-sacrifice, for life in other persons." The human personality of the Incarnate Logos supplied what would otherwise have been lacking to the Son of God during the days of His flesh. The Apostle seems to represent the form of a servant as the necessary substitute for the form of God and the possession of that divine glory with His Father of which He had voluntarily divested Himself by His incarnation. How this will affect our conception of His exaltation we do not know, whether we suppose that the human personality will be swallowed up in the divine, as a ray in the light, or that it will have its distinctive function in the endless mediatorial kingdom. The cognate question, also, of the relation of the human nature of Christ to the mystical union between Christ and the Church we must leave untouched.

In conclusion, it is certainly worthy of consideration whether Luther's insight has not put us in a position to answer in the affirmative the question concerning the peccability of our Lord's humanity. But we seem still to be where we were before. The undoubted difficulty that one who could be tempted to sin was yet incapable of sinning remains unsolved. For He is still the same Person, and to sin is a personal act. The denial of this would be Nestorian. The incarnation gave to a Divine

Person a human personality ; but He has not ceased to be a Divine Person. It is only a change of condition. As the Logos does not cease to exist in the Trinity by becoming Logos incarnate, so He does not cease to be Logos incarnate by becoming Man. All the actions of the Man are the actions of the Logos incarnate, and the actions of the Logos incarnate are the actions of the Second Person in the Trinity. The patristic supposition that the humanity of Christ is impersonal implies that it is a mere thing, as incapable of goodness as of sin. The new definition of Person, makes no difference in Christ's ethical condition. The kenosis will not affect it any more than it affects the ethical condition of the Logos in the Trinity. Christ is truly subject to temptation, and requires the help of the Spirit of God, as every other man does, in order to conquer. Though this is true, His Divine personality is always in reserve, if we can suppose Christ being ever in danger of defeat in the temptation. But this supposition, notwithstanding the intensity of His agony, it is unnecessary to make. Apart from the form of God, of which He had divested Himself, and the Divine personality, which He still retained, the human moral power of Christ, with the gracious aid of the Spirit, was enough to bear Him victoriously through every conflict. His moral omnipotence was required not for the conquest of evil but for the accomplishment of the work of His life and death in obedience and redemption. If it be objected that His having laid aside His metaphysical omnipotence implies the weakening of His moral omnipotence, we have to bear in mind that the kenosis was itself an act of moral omnipotence, done in a manner wholly incomprehensible to us, and that the indwelling of the Spirit was enough to enable Christ to overcome any such possible weakening effects of His self-emptying. It was this—the fact that the kenosis did not leave Him morally weaker as Man, and did not

ethically depotentiate His Divine Person—that enabled Him to become an example and a redemption, not the one without the other, through His life and in His death.

Our argument ends where it began. If an ideal humanity existed necessarily and eternally in God, it became an actual humanity at the incarnation. The God-Man is not, as Hegel said, a monstrosity. A complex personality like Christ's is possible. If it be asked whether He is God or Man, the answer must be Both in One. He was in idea from eternity God-Man. He is and will be to eternity actual God-Man.

T. C. EDWARDS.

ST. PAUL IN ATHENS.

II.

It is the merit of Prof. E. Curtius first to have caught the right tone of this scene, and to have restored it to its true surroundings amid the active bustling life of the Athenian Agora, where alone it is in its element. While in part the view taken in this paper differs from Curtius's exposition, yet all I have to say starts from his exquisite essay, "Paulus in Athens." It was he who showed me the spirit and the suitability of a scene which I had previously misunderstood and mistrusted. I regret to find that I have made an error on this point on p. 218, trusting too much to memory and conversation with a friend; and I beg to remodel the sentence, ll. 8-12, thus: "He touched on the subject first in his *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, and afterwards in the fascinating paper, 'Paulus in Athens,' defining the situation as being rather a preliminary examination," etc. My friend considers that in his essay Curtius draws back from the view that the scene was a *προδικασία*, and

makes it merely arise out of the curiosity of the philosophers; but I do not think that Curtius shows any intention to withdraw from his first view.¹

It has been necessary to spend a good deal of time on the word *Spermológos*, as the point of the passage lies in the peculiar innuendo which it carried in popular conversational language. The whole life of a nation is brought to a focus in its social slang. It is obvious that the force of a word springs from life and society, and not from the natural philological development; and it is characteristic of the difference between English and German commentators that many of the former have very good remarks on its connotation, while the latter usually acquiesce in the common rendering without a word, except that Dr. Blass makes the excellent observation already quoted. The word that most nearly corresponds to it in modern social slang (allowing for the difference between Athens and England) is "Bounder." I have more than once heard that word used in English university circles among younger men with exactly the innuendo which the Athenian lecturers on philosophy conveyed, viz. that Paul was a quite unqualified candidate for university recognition, and a mere outsider; he was not a true "sportsman," in whose mind and nature the knowledge and practice of the game were deep-seated and pervading,—making it a second nature for him to play the game fairly and rightly, to follow the rules, to think the thoughts,—but a looker-on, who was trying to play the game with the smattering of knowledge that he had picked up by eye and ear. Dean Farrar's rendering "this picker-up of learning's crumbs" is very neat; but it loses the flavour of slang that *Spermológos* carries with it; and to catch that flavour is

¹ I had not myself been struck with any difference between the two, but my friend was; and as in writing I was looking only at the essay, I assumed that the view taken in the book was stronger.

a first condition, if we would appreciate the true Athenian atmosphere in which the incident moves.

In the following attempt at a rendering, therefore, I have used the slang term; and the delightfully unconscious way in which the English school-boy often applies the term to better men, trained in the rough school of real life and not within the artificial ring, enhances the suitability of the translation. (xvii. 18) "And certain also of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers engaged in discussions with him; and some said, 'What would this "bounder" say?' and others, 'He seemeth to be an exponent of strange divinities.' (19) And they laid hold of him, and brought him before the Court of Areopagus, saying, 'May we learn what is this new teaching which is spoken by thee? (20) For thou bringest some things of foreign fashion to our hearing; we wish, therefore, to learn what is their nature.' (21) But (*while they who took an active part in the scene spoke thus, such*) Athenians and resident strangers (*as formed the mass of the crowd*) were interested only in saying or hearing something new and smart. (22) And Paul stood in the midst of the Court of Areopagus, and said, etc. . . . (33) Thereupon Paul went forth from the midst of them."

The key to the interpretation of the scene lies, of course, in the action of the philosophers, vv. 18 and 19. I speak on the understanding that they are the subject throughout the two verses. Such seems necessarily the construction of the sentences. Mr. Page makes an ingenious attempt to construe the passage otherwise, on the theory that "the clause, 'and certain also of the philosophers encountered him,' is almost parenthetical, and in no case are 'the philosophers' to be regarded as the people described, v. 19, as 'taking hold of Paul,' for Paul's speech was certainly not addressed to 'the philosophers,' who could not possibly be called 'rather superstitious' or have had the remarks in vv. 24, 29, addressed to them, but was made

to the 'men of Athens' generally." Mr. Page's understanding of the speech is, I think, quite correct; it was not addressed to "the philosophers," but to the "men of Athens." But his inference, that therefore it was not the philosophers who took Paul before the Areopagus, is unjustifiable; and there is not the slightest appearance that the first clause, about the philosophers encountering Paul, is parenthetical. Mr. Page has been misled by his principle of attempting always to find some correspondence between *μὲν οὖν* and a following *δέ*; and this has made him, here and in some other cases, force the construction beyond what it will bear. He tries to connect *μὲν οὖν* in v. 17 with *δὲ* in v. 19, and in order to do so treats the intermediate clause as "almost parenthetical." But Dr. Blass remarks with regard to *μὲν οὖν* here¹ that it is used "*cum anacoluthia ut saepissime*"; and recent discussions in the EXPOSITOR have probably brought that fact prominently forward. We must follow the natural and the general construction, which interprets vv. 18 and 19 as referring to the action of the philosophers.

The word *συνέβαλλον* cannot mean simply "met him," as in xx. 14: it implies discussion (*συμβάλλειν λόγους*), whether friendly (as in iv. 15) or not; for discussion and exchange of opinion was required in order to enable the philosophers to form the opinions which they expressed about Paul's teaching. Probably the hostile innuendo lies in the word here; but that is not of much consequence; and I have therefore refrained from emphasizing it in the translation.

As the upshot of these meetings, some of the philosophers declared that this new-comer was a mere ignorant borrower of half-understood fragments from the lectures of real philosophers; while others said he was expounding foreign and unlawful divinities. These two conclusions,

¹ He refers to his notes on i. 6 and i. 18.

which are not perfectly consistent with each other, are purposely placed side by side to bring out—in Luke's quiet way of leaving facts to interpret themselves—the general perplexity and incapacity of understanding what Paul was driving at. It is commonly the case that popular feeling applies essentially inconsistent epithets to what it dislikes, unconscious of their real inconsistency. They sought philosophy (1 *Cor.* i. 22); and they got what some declared ignorant plagiarism, and others foreign impiety.

One thing, however, was certain. This foreign lecturer and disputant on questions of Moral Philosophy was attracting attention, and drawing an audience. He was coming into competition with the officially recognized lectures, the established lecturers and Professors in the University. That brings us into a question which is involved in the utmost obscurity. What were the legal rights of the recognised official teachers in the University, and how far and in what way could a new teacher find freedom to teach and to lecture in the University city? We cannot answer these questions with any approach to accuracy; but it is certain that something did exist in the way of regulations with regard to public teaching and lecturing; and that the Council of Areopagus took some official action with regard to the appointment of public lecturers in the University.

In the first place, with regard to the action of the Council, my friend and old pupil, Rev. A. F. Findlay, quotes the passage of Plutarch, *Vit. Cic.* 24, which mentions that between 48 and 44 B.C. Cicero induced the Council of Areopagus to pass a decree inviting Cratippus, the Peripatetic philosopher, to remain in Athens and to give public expositions to the young men; and we notice that the same verb is used about these expositions that Luke used about Paul's discussions in the Agora.¹

¹ διεπράξατο δὲ (ὁ Κικέρων) τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι καὶ δεηθῆναι

In the next place, with regard to the position and the rights and advantages of the teachers in the Universities of Athens and the other great seats of learning, such as Tarsus, some kind of public recognition seems to have been required. This was certainly of a much freer and slighter character than the appointment to a chair in a University of our country ; but still there was not absolutely free trade in lecturing. It was, of course, very common for teachers and lecturers in rhetoric or in philosophy to earn reputation by travelling to great cities that were strange to them, or to seek an opening in some great centre of learning. Those who came with an established fame were accepted on their reputation ; those who came unknown were required to give some public display as a test and proof of their skill. A few sentences quoted from Mr. Capes's *University Life in Ancient Athens*, pp. 54 f., will illustrate this. " Besides these [the regular Professorships] there were many private teachers, who gathered an audience round them as they could, and at times even eclipsed the salaried Professors. At Athens, so few of the Academic world were native born that there seemed good reason for the fears of purists who complained that such a multitude of strangers had corrupted the purity of the Attic tongue. . . . With many it was far from being a question of a mere livelihood. . . . To some it seemed the highest object of ambition to rise to distinction as a Sophist. . . . They could not stay long in their native homes, if they felt that they were capable of greater things, but must go forth into the larger world to air their talents and measure themselves with rivals of renown. . . . Often they wandered off from land to land, to engage in literary tournaments with the champions whom they met, offering to lecture on some startling thesis, or to improvise on any that was given." As an example

μένειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νέοις ὡς κοσμοῦντα τὴν πόλιν. The Neoi were grown young men of 20 upwards.

he quotes the story from Philostratus, *Vitæ Sophistarum*, ii. 27, 7, how "Hippodromus, afterwards appointed to a Professorship at Athens, came for the first time to Smyrna, and, as soon as he had landed, walked straight to the agora to get a local guide. He saw a temple on his way, by which some private tutors sat, with servants carrying bundles of books under their arms, and guessed that there was somebody of note lecturing within. He walked inside and found Megistias, to whom he bowed without saying more." After some talk Hippodromus expressed his wish to give a specimen of his skill; and Megistias handed him his lecturing gown, and gave him a thesis as he asked. "Soon after he began his speech, the other hurried up, and begged to know who he could be . . ." and soon "all the educated men in Smyrna came hurrying to where Megistias was, for the rumour had already spread that Hippodromus had come to visit them. So he took up the same subject and handled it again in a new style."

The respect that was paid to the great teachers, and the applause with which their public lectures were received, are illustrated by Mr. Capes. "Of course their heads were often turned with such applause: of course they gave themselves high airs. . . . Adrian of Tyre began his inaugural address, on his appointment to a chair at Athens, with the prelude, 'Once more come letters from Phœnicia.' . . . The ceremony over, he was escorted home by students from all parts of Greece, who treated him with all the reverence due to a high-priest at the Mysteries."

Considerable emoluments attached to a Professorship, consisting partly of a regular salary, partly of fees from pupils (often very high, and apparently fixed at the discretion of the Professor), and partly of immunity from the burdensome and expensive duties of municipal offices. But it is uncertain whether the system (which was in full operation in the next century) of state appointments and state

salaries had as yet extended to Athens. Moreover, the regular lecturers, who were far more numerous than the formally appointed Professors, had not at any time the same advantages as they.

Such was the world in which Paul found himself in Athens. With his usual versatility, and his cosmopolitan experience and education,¹ he adapted himself to it as readily as he had done to every situation of his wandering life. At Tarsus he had been brought up in another of the great universities of the world; and the narrative shows clearly that he felt, as was natural, great interest in surveying the historical memorials of this centre of the world's education, *vv.* 16 and 23;² but this interest turned to indignation as he observed a more than usual profusion of idols in the very city where philosophers had been teaching for centuries that idols were nothing in themselves. But the very method in which he began to combat the idol-worship of Athens shows the influence that the genius of the place exerted on his spirit. He proceeded to discuss quite in the Socratic style with every one whom chance threw in his way in the market-place. Here, and here alone, is he said to have adopted the Socratic style of philosophic colloquy. In this and in every other scene of Paul's wanderings, we are struck with the way in which the narrative varies according to the surroundings and reflects their character. Let any one compare the scenes in Lystra (*xiv.* 11-18), in Paphos (*xiii.* 4-12), in Ephesus (*xix.* 23-41), and in Athens, as studies in social life, and he must be struck with the difference of character and type in each case; and a comparison of the scene with all that can be learned of the cities will show how correctly everything is

¹ At this point I must assume that Paul had such an education as to enable him to sympathize with Athenian life. If proof were wanting otherwise, it might be found in the story of his Athenian adventures alone.

² See *Expositor*, May, 1895, p. 397.

delineated. An "instantaneous photograph" is the epithet that rises to one's lips in every case; and only the blindness of placid and contented ignorance about ancient cities and ancient life could ever have taken these scenes as compiled pictures instead of photographs from the life. For example, why does Paul discuss with chance comers in the agora in xvii. 17, while he taught in the school of Tyrannus xix. 9? Because in the former case he was in Athens, and in the latter case in Ephesus. Why does he use the simplest of illustrations and arguments from the harvests and other good gifts of God in xiv. 15, 17, while in xvii. 23-30 he quotes from Aratus or Cleanthes, and talks in the style of semi-Pantheistic popular philosophy about "the Divine nature" (vv. 23, 39)? Because in the former case he was addressing the simple rustic Lycaonian *incolæ* of Lystra (not, be it observed, the Roman *coloni*, who would not speak "in the speech of Lycaonia," and were not of the character implied); while in the latter case he was addressing an audience of Athenians, familiar with the superficial aspect of philosophical conceptions.

Athens in Paul's time was no longer the Athens of Socrates; but the Socratic method had sprung from the soil and the nature of the people, and in Athens Socrates can never quite die, even though the spirit of Herodes Atticus was already more congenial to the learned Professors of the University than that of Socrates. Among the people Paul reasoned in the Socratic style; but when the Professors came upon the scene, they demanded of him a display in the style of the rhetorician. No one who thinks of the above-quoted story from Philostratus (with many others like it) and of the general character of philosophical lecturers at the time can fail to be struck with the resemblance between the scene in the Hall of the Areopagus and that in the temple at Smyrna. There is the difference that Hippodromus invited himself, whereas Paul was practically

forced to his rhetorical display; but that lies in the difference of character and aim of the two men.

Asterius, bishop of Amaseia, about A.D. 400, who was not too far removed from the ancient University life, has caught, though with some errors, the general character of the scene. He makes Paul volunteer his rhetorical display, and he places it on the Hill of Mars; but otherwise his account is interesting and not uninteresting. He says that Paul "hurried up to Mars Hill, and finding a multitude collected there, he stood and delivered a harangue beyond the usual rhetoricians, who vied with one another among the Athenians every day; and he came down from thence a victor."¹

Paul's address was delivered before the Council of Areopagus, and not simply as a display before a general audience. What then was the object of the other lecturers in making his oration something in the nature of an examination before a court? As we are so much in the dark about the whole question of the relations between the lecturers and the government, it is not possible to answer the question confidently. But, in the first place, it is well known that the government of the Greek cities exercised a good deal of control by special officers over the whole system of educating the rising generation as boys and as young men: the young were trained in graduated classes, and passed on from class to class in regular course. Further, we have seen that the Council of Areopagus was concerned with the duty of appointing and inviting lecturers in Athens; and Quintilian mentions that they

¹ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρειὸν πάγον ἀναδραμὼν, ἐνθα ἦν βουλὴ σκληρὰ καὶ ἐπίφοβος, ταῖς φορκαῖς δίκαις δικάζουσα, εὐρὼν δὲ πλῆθος ἐκεῖ συνελεγμένον πολὺ, στὰς ἐδημηγόρει ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐθάδας ῥήτορας, τοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζομένους, . . . ὥστε τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν τὸν Διονύσιον . . . πείσας μετέστησε, . . . κατελθὼν δὲ νικητὴς ἐκείθεν: Asterius, *Homilia viii.*, in *SS. Petrum et Paulum* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xl., p. 294). He calls Paul's address a harangue (*δημηγορία*), and Philostratus calls Megistias's lecturing gown a *δημηγορικὸν ἱμάτιον*.

punished a boy who used to pluck out the eyes of quails. It is therefore evident that they exercised some general control over the educational system of the city, at least in the Roman period, perhaps earlier. That control is closely related to their older control over the manners and morals of the citizens, over the slighter religious faults (though accusations of impiety and of the introduction of foreign and unlawful religion were tried before the popular courts, and never before the Areopagus), and over the public hygiene and the state physicians; it is also related (as ancient thought went) to the police jurisdiction which they exercised in the Roman period.

In accordance with these powers must we not regard the scene in the Hall of the Areopagus as a sort of test applied to a new teacher of philosophy at the instance of the established, in fact as a piece of professorial jealousy? Those who thought that Paul was an ignorant setter forth of borrowed knowledge, and those who thought that he was a preacher of foreign and illegal religious ideas, would hope, for different reasons, that this interloper would be stopped by the court which took cognizance of morality and order in educational matters. There was no formal accusation, and therefore no defence; and yet Paul was placed in a difficult and invidious position, for at the conclusion he is said to have "gone forth from the midst of them," with an expression that suggests trouble, and even danger, in the situation (cp. xxiii. 10). The danger did not extend so far as his life, for the Areopagus had no such powers; but he might have been silenced as an unsettling teacher. Moreover, his opponents might hope that, if he were suddenly taken to stand the test of a public address in such impressive and august surroundings, he might be nonplussed and confused. In the result the decision was not pronounced, but postponed.

Paul's speech, then, was delivered where the Council of

Areopagus was in the habit of meeting. But, though it derived its name from the Hill, it did not always meet on the Hill. Demosthenes is our authority that, in certain departments of its duty, it met in the King's Stoa (στοὰ βασιλείος), a large hall on the Agora; and we may safely say, in the words of M. Caillemer¹ (endorsed by Prof. E. Curtius), that in this case the Council *siégeait non plus sur la colline de Mars réservée aux φονικὰ δίκαι, mais dans le Stoa Basileios*. No one that has any conception of what practical work means could believe that the general business of the Council was ever conducted on the exposed and confined top of the Hill. Even in cases of murder, it was doubtless only the concluding stages of the trial that took place on the sacred Hill-top.

In *v.* 21 the force of the imperfect must be noticed. It cannot be taken as the statement of a permanent characteristic of the Athenians, for that, as being true at all times, would be made in the present tense. In the business-like style of Luke, this sentence must be interpreted as part of the scene; and I see no other force in the imperfect, as compared with the aorists in *vv.* 19, 22, except that it expresses what was the general feeling among a crowd of bystanders, while the proceedings were going on.

We find then, in this case, as in every other scene in *Acts*, all the essential constituents of the situation lightly but sufficiently described. First are mentioned the Council of Areopagus, perhaps the most famous assembly of ancient history, the subject of the inquiry, who stands forth in the midst of the Court, viz., a newly arrived teacher and lecturer from foreign parts, and the official teachers, who already occupied Chairs in the University. But in all the public scenes of the early Empire, even in the trials before courts of law, there was a fourth element, which played a very important part, viz., the general audience, the *corona*.

¹ In Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Gr. et Rom.*

Pliny remarks on the degradation of legal oratory in his time, owing to the fact that lawyers looked more to the approval and applause of the audience than to the opinion and judgment of the court. Every one who has any acquaintance with the literature of the early Empire knows how important the audience was in all intellectual displays. Owing to the absence of printing and the difficulty of multiplication of literary productions, public opinion could not make itself felt so strongly in any other way ; and hence the applause or disapproval of the *corona* came to represent the public verdict on all intellectual questions and achievements.

Accordingly, in the scene which took place in the Hall on the Agora where the Areopagus sat, it was impossible to leave out the general audience in a good description of the scene ; and Luke touches it off in *v.* 21. The unmistakable tone of contempt in the brief words was not undeserved, and is certainly natural in a Macedonian (as I believe Luke was) writing about an Athenian audience, for the attitude of the two peoples was one of mutual dislike and scorn. The philosophers were malevolent, and insisted on an examination and testing of the new teacher ; but the crowd of Athenians and strangers were merely amused and curious to hear the expected display. That is exactly the character of the crowds who flocked to hear one of the great rhetorical exhibitions. Let us hear what Mr. Capes says in his *University Life in Ancient Athens* : " The people commonly was nothing loath to hear ; they streamed as to a popular preacher in our own day, or an actor starring in provincial towns ; the epicures accepted the invitation to the feast of words, and hurried to the theatre to judge as critics the choice of images, and refinement of the style, and all the harmony of balanced periods." Luke therefore has a distinct innuendo in his statement that they were interested in speaking (*i.e.*, criticising) even more than in hearing.

The absence of the article before the noun *Ἀθηναῖοι* is perhaps an element in the meaning of this sentence, for it cannot be sufficiently explained by the tendency in later Greek to drop the article.

Now, as Jelf points out (*Greek Grammar*, § 446 β), "the article gives an individual collective character to the plural noun: *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* (men considered collectively); Plato, *Legg.*, 680, c, *οὐ σφόδρα χρώμεθα οἱ Κρήτες τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν*." Similarly, if Luke had used *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες* in this case, he would have been laying down a general rule about "all Athenians taken collectively as a nation." It seems therefore that, in distinction from *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, the simple *Ἀθηναῖοι* must be taken as denoting "Athenians, such, namely, as were present at the scene."¹

This seems to be the force intended; but some perhaps may think that a different explanation is better. As Jelf says (*Greek Grammar*, ii. 447, b), "when two or more nouns are so joined together that they together form a compound notion, and lose their separate individuality," the article need not be used, *e.g.*, *Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι*. In this case *ξένοι* and *Ἀθηναῖοι* are so joined, but the expression is complicated through the necessity of defining *ξένοι* by the additional *οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες*; the case really is *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ξένοι* (namely, *οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες*). I cannot think so.

What was the result of the test applied to Paul? It seems to have been so far satisfactory, that he "went forth from the midst of them" (v. 33); but it was not conclusive, for some mocked, while others desired more information and further examination before coming to any decision.

¹ A similar case occurs in Thucyd., 8, 69 (the parallel is quoted for a different purpose by Mr. Hamblin Smith in collecting coincidences of expression in Thucyd. and Acts): *ἦσαν δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες διὰ κτλ.*, "All the Athenians (*who might have been expected to be ready to prevent the conspiracy*) were on outpost or other warlike duty." In that case also the assertion does not, and could not, apply to "all Athenians," but only to those who might have been on hand at the incident which was proceeding.

But Asterius certainly takes too rosy a view of the facts when he says that Paul "came down a conqueror." There is a marked absence of the popular ovation that greeted a great victory in such contests; "but certain men clave unto him, and believed." What a contrast is this to the effect in Galatia, in Thessalonica, and other places!

Clearly Paul recognised that in Athens no "door was opened to him" (2 *Cor.* ii. 12). The philosophers, with all the University influence to support them, were against him; here, as at Corinth, "not many wise after the flesh," not many of the recognised instructors in philosophy and morality, were on his side (1 *Cor.* i. 26). There can be no question that the account which he gives in the opening chapters of 1 *Corinthians* shows a recoil from his plunge into philosophic method at Athens: "and I, brethren, when I came among you, came not announcing in superior language (as a rhetorician) or in superior wisdom (as a philosopher) the mysterious nature of God (as a knowledge reserved for the initiated few);¹ for I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." What a contrast is that to the speech before the Areopagus, with its talk about the "Divine nature," and its silence about Jesus and the crucifixion (except in the obscure and nameless hint in xvii. 31)! It was not among the "wise after the flesh," the professors and lecturers of the University, that the new teaching could find a ready audience; and the history of the world ever since has proved, time after time, century after century, that the established teachers at the Universities are, with rare exceptions, the slowest to move and the last to accept any new ideas, while their young pupils as a rule are the quickest to respond to every new movement in thought. Paul found his ready converts

¹ This is one of the places which might be taken as a test of manuscript excellence: the reading *μαρτύριον* is hopelessly feeble, and yet a very natural correction on the part of a *diorthotes*.

among the eager, the earnest, and the enthusiastic: these were the persons that had the power of believing which tends to salvation (xiv. 9). But the Athenian University was the home of dilettantism and of the cool, cultivated, critical intellect, which had tried all things and found all wanting; and in it there were few hearers and no open door for the new teaching.

The influence of Paul's Athenian surroundings may be traced in the "philosophy of history" which he sketches briefly in his address. In the Socratic position the virtue of "knowing" was too exclusively dwelt on, and in some of the earlier Platonic dialogues the view is maintained that virtue is knowledge and vice ignorance; and Greek philosophy was never clear about the relation of will and permanent character to "knowing." The Greek philosophers could hardly admit, and could never properly understand, that a man may know without carrying his knowledge into action, that he may refuse to know when knowledge is within his grasp, and that the refusal exercises a permanent deteriorating influence on his character. Now Paul, in his estimate of the relation of the pre-Christian world to God, adopts a different position in the Athenian speech from that on which he afterwards took his stand in his letter to the Romans (i. 19-32). In the latter place he recognises (to quote Lightfoot's brief analysis) that the pagan world "might have seen God through his works. They refused to see Him. They disputed, and they blinded their hearts. . . . Therefore they were delivered over to impurity. . . . They not only did those things, but they took delight in those who did them." Here we have a full recognition of that fundamental fact in human nature and life, which Æschylus expressed in his greatest drama as a conception of his own differing from the common Greek view: "The impious act breeds more, like to its own kind: it is the nature of crime

to beget new crime and along with it the depraved audacious will that settles, like an irresistible spirit of ill, on the house."¹ But to the Athenians Paul says, "The times of ignorance, therefore, God overlooked"; and those times are alluded to as a period when men were doing their best to find and to worship "God Unknown." We must not, of course, demand that the entire theology of Paul should be compressed into this single address; but yet there is a notable omission of an element that was unfamiliar and probably repugnant to his audience, and an equally notable insistence on an element that was familiar to them.

NOTE.—In v. 18 an explanatory clause is added in almost all MSS. at the conclusion: "because he was giving the good news of 'Jesus' and the 'Resurrection.'" A similar explanatory clause is found in xviii. 3. Both are omitted in the Bezan Text and in one old Latin Version (*Gig.*). In xiv. 12 a similar explanatory clause (introduced however by *ἐπειδή*, not by *γάρ*) is omitted in an old Latin version (*Fl.*), but given in the Bezan Text. Probably all three are very early explanatory glosses, which crept into the text in a similar fashion to many Bezan additions. The only one which adds anything to the meaning is the second, xviii. 3; but it seems not to have formed part of the original text, for the words *διὰ τὸ ἐμώρεχρον εἶναι* in the early part of the verse would hardly have been used by a writer who was going to say at the end of the sentence *ἦσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ*, and the double statement, with the second partly agreeing with and partly adding to the first, is not in the brief, concise style of Luke.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ *Agamemnon*, 780 f., a passage where the text is very uncertain and is terribly maltreated by many editors. Paley turns it into an elaborate genealogical tree, while Wecklein conjectures away the depravation of the will, which is the key to the philosophic position of Æschylus.

JEREMIAH: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

VI. God.

As man's God is, so is man himself—there is no more accurate standard of measurement than this. It applies to nations: the station and degree reached by any people in the scale of humanity may be determined by discovering what kind of deity they worship. And it applies to individuals: the statement about God in a man's creed may not, indeed, be a very accurate index of his character, but, if the conception of God which he carries about in his secret mind can be discovered, everything else about him can easily be deduced from it.

If this be true of men in general, it is specially true of prophets. No measurement of the stature of a prophet's mind, or of the power of his message, is so decisive as that supplied by his conception of God. A man was a prophet just because he discerned God in the universe around him more clearly than other people. That man is a prophet who, if religion did not exist, would be able to invent it. The prophet was taken possession of by God and became in his whole life the servant of this inspiration. Yet there were great differences in the impressions made by the inspiring Divinity on different prophets; and the purpose of this paper is to trace out the image of God which was reflected on the mirror of Jeremiah's mind.

Jeremiah's God is the God of Nature.

"He hath made the earth by His power, He hath established the world by His wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by His discretion. When He uttereth His voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, and He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth. He maketh lightnings with rain, and bringeth forth

the wind out of His treasures.”¹ In this quotation emphasis is laid on the gift of rain; and, if any one of the divine operations in nature specially affected the imagination of Jeremiah, it seems to have been the process by which rain is gathered in the atmosphere and then distilled in showers to water the earth. Of course in the Orient, where rain is so precious, this was natural; and we must remember the delicate and dazzling beauty imparted by a shower to the fields and woods of an Eastern landscape.

Although, however, there are here and there in Jeremiah remarkable sentences inspired by the perception of God's presence in the beauty of the world, it cannot be said that in this respect he even approaches some of the other prophets and psalmists. His temper was naturally too sombre, and his spirit was too heavy-laden with the burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible world, to permit the impressions of external nature to play freely on his mind. He cannot drag himself sufficiently away from the scenes and the problems of practical life to enjoy thoroughly the peace and the exaltation which other men of God in Old Testament times enjoyed as they looked upon the face of the earth or the face of the sky. Not infrequently his allusions to the presence of God in nature are charged with a polemical purpose. Thus he has a sublime outburst in which he speaks of God placing “the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass; and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it”; but this picture is painted merely to emphasize the contrast between the sea, which, in spite of its stormy nature, obeys the control of the Heaven-appointed boundary, and the revolting and rebellious heart of his fellow-countrymen, whose passions acknowledged no control. His most striking passages on God in nature occur

¹ Ch. x. 12.

in his polemic against idolatry. He ridicules the idols, because they can do nothing: they cannot even move, but require to be carried; they are upright as the palm-tree, but cannot speak; they are put together with hammer and nails. "Be not afraid of them; for they cannot do evil, neither also is it in them to do good." "But the Lord is the true God; He is the living God and an everlasting King; at His wrath the earth shall tremble, and the nations shall not be able to abide His indignation."

Jeremiah's God is the God of Israel.

If Jeremiah has not the eye for the glories of nature possessed by some of the other writers of Scripture, he is surpassed by none in setting forth God's love to His chosen people. Jeremiah's was a hidden and brooding nature; he was full of suppressed fire and passion; he was without wife or children, and the whole force of his affections was given to his country. Sometimes his love took the form of jealousy and indignation, but it was love all the same; and it enabled him to understand the love of God and to be the organ through which the divine heart found expression. No prophet, unless it be Hosea—also a nature of the brooding and passionate type—equals him in the lyrical tenderness of outbursts like this: "Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with loving-kindness have I drawn thee"; and he is never weary of repeating the story of the ancient time of what he calls the espousals of Jehovah and Israel, when Jehovah "brought forth His people out of the land of Egypt with signs and with wonders, and with a strong hand, and with a stretched-out arm, and with great terror, and gave them the land which He had sworn to their fathers to give them, a land flowing with milk and honey." No prophet is so conscious of the splendid chance which Israel thus obtained, because to be

thus brought nigh to God was to be close to "the fountain of living waters"; and, had the nation realised its privilege, it would have been like "a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth forth her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green, and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit."¹

The notion that God had made a special choice of Israel and felt for that nation a peculiar love may appear to us inconsistent with what we now know of God's love for the world. Some may even consider it on a level with what all nations have believed about their deities at a certain stage. But in Jeremiah there is a noble universality. Jehovah is no fetish, confined to a limited territory; Jeremiah calls Him "the King of nations," and "the God of all flesh." He himself was conscious of being ordained by Jehovah a prophet to the nations; and he actually sent divine messages to the kings of nations outside his native land. It is true that these were messages of judgment; but he expresses the most poignant sympathy with the woe about to befall some of Israel's bitterest enemies; he teaches that the providence of God presides over the movements of even the most distant peoples; and here and there he drops a hint, sometimes in very unlikely places, of the purpose of God to bring even His most stubborn enemies within the empire of His grace.²

Jeremiah's God is the God of Morality.

The notion that Israel was specially beloved of Heaven was capable of another perversion: the divine choice might be conceived as a piece of favouritism, and it might be thought that the object of it was to ensure the safety and happiness of Israel at all hazards and under

¹ Comp. also xii. 7 ff.

² xlvi. 47; xlix. 39.

all conditions. This was the heathen idea: the deity of a nation was bound on every occasion to defend his own; his wrath might, indeed, be feared if the offerings brought to his temple were curtailed, but, when these were forthcoming in due number and with the proper ceremonies, he was bound to exert himself on the side of his worshippers. Within the Hebrew people itself the same belief was too common. Jesus had to complain of it in His day: His contemporaries believed that they would enter in a body into the Messianic kingdom simply because they were the children of Abraham. In Jeremiah's age also the same delusion was prevalent. His fellow-countrymen superstitiously repeated the words, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these"; they believed that in every case Jehovah must defend His own territory and save His own people; Zion was inviolable; in short, they were Jehovah's favourites, and in no case would He desert them.

It was the life-work of Jeremiah to explode this superstition. None could believe more passionately than he in the divine choice of Israel; but this choice had a definite purpose, and this was not to keep Israel safe and happy in all circumstances, but to produce a holy nation. Jehovah abhors sin; Jeremiah says that the single purpose for which the prophets were sent from age to age was to repeat in the ears of the people in God's name, "Oh, do not this abominable thing which I hate." On the other hand, God delights in lovingkindness, judgment and justice. To create, then, a nation which would abhor sin and practise the virtues of lovingkindness, judgment and justice was the purpose of Jehovah's choice.¹ But, if this purpose was frustrated, and if Israel turned out to be a nation which delighted in sin and trode lovingkindness, justice and

¹ xliv. 4; ix. 24.

judgment underfoot, then there was no reason whatever why God should waste His love upon them. On the contrary, His love would be changed to indignation, and even for their own sake He would have to visit them with the whips and scourges of calamity.¹

This had actually taken place. The burden of Jeremiah's entire prophecy is the utter frustration of the Divine intention through Israel's backsliding; therefore, he says, the love of God is changed to anger and fury, His protection is withdrawn from the holy land and the holy city, and the Gentiles are even summoned by Jehovah to execute His vengeance on His own chosen people.

In vain the people answered that they paid to Jehovah in His temple the due number of sacrifices and duly observed all the rites of worship. This was a heathen plea, but to Jehovah ritual without righteousness is nothing: "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them: Obey My voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be My people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you; but they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear."

These revolutionary truths Jeremiah was instructed to exhibit before the people in a concrete form in one of those symbolic actions of which he was fond.² He was told to go down to the potter's house, and there God would cause him to hear His words. So he went to the potter's house and saw the artist work a work on the wheel; but the vessel was marred in the hands of the potter, who thereupon, reducing it to a shapeless mass, remade it a different vessel as it seemed good to him. Then spake the Lord in the prophet's consciousness: "O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord; behold, as the

¹ iv. 4; vii. 20; v. 9; ix. 9.

² Ch. xviii.

clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in Mine hand, O house of Israel." By superficial readers this has been supposed to teach the most outrageous fatalism: that God can make or mar the destiny of everyone as He pleases, wholly without respect to human will or character. But, in fact, what it teaches is exactly the reverse; it is that God is not bound by His decree or promise to bless and favour any, if they depart from Him. So the passage proceeds: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom to pluck up and to pull down and to destroy it, if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them; and at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom to build and to plant it, if it do evil in My sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them." God's promises are attached to moral conditions, and, when these conditions are not fulfilled, He claims the right to revoke them.

The God of Jeremiah is the God of Salvation.

The words just quoted appear to contain the final doom of Israel. The intention of God in Israel's vocation had been frustrated; therefore the promises were revoked, and Israel was abandoned and cast away. In Jeremiah there are many passages to this effect: "I have taken away My peace from this people, saith the Lord, even lovingkindness and mercies"; "Though Moses and Samuel stood before Me, yet My mind could not be toward this people; cast them out of My sight, and let them go forth."¹ These were words of fearful menace, and they were followed by events which confirmed them and proved from whom they had proceeded. The throne was overturned, the capital sacked, the temple burnt, the country desolated, the popu-

¹ xvi 5; xv. 1.

lation carried away captive. It seemed the end of the history of Israel; apparently Jehovah had finally cast off His people.

It is precisely at this desperate moment, however, that Jeremiah's most characteristic teaching about God comes in. It may have excited surprise that Jeremiah's teaching about God should have been delayed so long in this series of papers. It is by his conception of God that a prophet is made. Ought not, then, his doctrine of God to have the first place in any account of his theology? There are prophets in whose thinking this is certainly its natural place. It is so, for example, in the case of Isaiah. His prophetic activity began with an overpoweringly sublime vision of the divine glory, and this incident set its mark on every page of his writing; his entire theology is deducible from his conception of God. With Jeremiah, however, it is different. He also has a sublime conception of God, but it is not primary in his system of ideas. The sins and the needs of the world in which he lives are with him primary, and God comes in as the power who is to put the world right.

The same contrast may be observed between other pairs of thinkers. The theology of St. John, for example, as the prologue to his Gospel indicates, begins in the seventh heaven, and only takes up man by the way; St. Paul, on the contrary, always begins on the ground, however high he may subsequently soar: it is from man's need that he is led up to Heaven's grace. In modern times a theologian like Calvin begins far up in the sovereignty of God, whereas a thinker like Chalmers starts from the disease of human nature and ascends to heaven in search of a remedy.

Now the point at which Jeremiah most urgently required God was where the case of Israel was most desperate, and this point was reached when his own predictions of evil were all fulfilled. But it is just in this valley of the shadow

of death that the voice of Jeremiah is heard uttering its most lyrical word and its most musical note—a word and a note in which is contained the magic of all revelation. For the God of the Bible is neither the God of nature, nor the God of Israel, nor the God of morality—though He is all these—but He is, above and beyond everything else, the God of salvation. “O the Hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble”—this is Jeremiah’s formula for this truth; but one of the psalmists has given it perfect expression: “He that is our God is the God of salvation.”¹

JAMES STALKER.

THE SPEECHES IN THE CHRONICLES.

THE article of Dr. French² in the August number of the *EXPOSITOR* seems to call for some notice on my part. He has, it is true, neither substantiated his own position nor shaken mine; but in a cumulative proof, consisting of a large number of independent arguments, there are naturally some which are less forcible than others, and of these he has made the most. His paper is essentially an attempt to invalidate the conclusions reached by me in my previous article,³ by arguing that I have exaggerated the marks of the Chronicler’s style in 1 Chr. 29, and unduly minimized those in 1 Chr. 17. As there may be some readers to whom it may not be apparent why this attempt fails, I have thought it proper to examine his article in some detail, and to consider *seriatim* the principal objections raised in it. My reply will at the same time afford me the opportunity of stating more distinctly some of the points noticed by me

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 20.

² Whom I regret in my previous article to have inadvertently neglected to designate by his legitimate title.

³ *EXPOSITOR*, April, 1895, p. 241 ff.

before, as well as of adducing fresh evidence in support of my general position.

1. On p. 141, Dr. French complains that I represent him as maintaining that "the language of the Chronicles is, with the exception of one word, the language of Samuel and Kings." If I have done this, it is due solely to a literary inaccuracy of his own; for in the sentence quoted by him from *Lex Mosaica*, p. 195, the clause "while otherwise," etc., I submit, can grammatically qualify only "are omitted in LXX."; had it been intended to qualify "contain no more traces," etc., it surely ought to have immediately followed "parallels." But I do not think I have misrepresented him in reality. The passage quoted by him at the top of the page in support of his complaint is intended to apply only to the two speeches in 1 Chr. 29, as the opening words ("These then are two of the speeches of which the Rev. Valpy French, etc.")—omitted by Dr. French in his quotation—sufficiently shew. Strictly, to be sure, I ought to have written "These then are two speeches, of which, etc."; but the context surely makes it clear that I have no other speeches in view, and that I have no desire to impute to Dr. French the belief that with the exception of one word (הַבִּירָה) the language of the Chronicles is *uniformly* the same as that of Samuel and Kings.

2. Dr. French next finds fault with me for correcting his description of the Chronicles as "exilic" into "post-exilic," and basing upon the alteration "a laboured disquisition on the nice distinctions between *late* and *very late* idiom." I corrected it because, whatever may have been Dr. French's intentions in using it, it was an inaccuracy, calculated to perpetuate confused ideas respecting the later ages of Jewish history, and to ante-date seriously an important transition period in the history of the Hebrew language. The exile is a well-defined period, closing B.C. 536; and while the Chronicles (which upon no view were written

earlier than c. B.C. 450) cannot evidently, upon any natural interpretation of the word, be designated as "exilic," to use *exilic* "as a generic term comprising later stages of the language," and therefore its *post-exilic* stages, is at once objectionable logically, and misleading historically. I was not aware that I had indulged in any "laboured disquisition" on the "nice distinctions between *late* and *very late* idiom"—though since such distinctions certainly do exist, it surely is not out of place for a student of language to notice them; but I cannot consent to place, linguistically, even the latest parts of Kings, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah in the same category with Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther. I readily grant, however, that for the purposes of my argument with Dr. French, very little, if anything, turns upon the distinction, and that my position would be equally strong, were the Chronicles a work of (strictly) the exilic period.

3. Dr. French states (p. 142) my contention to be that "the following characteristics are observable and constant—wherever there is a tally in Samuel, the Chronicler's idiom is classical; where there is no tally, it is exilic or post-exilic." This statement of my position is not sufficiently exact, and might be interpreted in a sense which I could not accept; it might suggest, viz., that in the speeches to which there is a tally in Samuel or Kings the idiom was *throughout* classical, and while in the others it was *throughout* non-classical. This I have nowhere maintained; all that the words quoted from me¹ by Dr. French imply is that there are untallied speeches which display peculiarities of thought or expression, sufficient to show that they belong to the post-exilic age, not that such peculiarities appear in every single sentence or clause, or even, to the same degree, in every individual speech.² Dr. French continues: "The

¹ *Introduction*, p. 84; *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1890, p. 216.

² Nor, I may add here, have I maintained that it was possible, from *idiom*

facts read somewhat differently, namely, that whether with or without tally, the idiom of the Chronicler is at one time mainly classical, at another time exilic or even post-exilic; and this, whether in narrative or speeches." A description apparently plain, but in reality involved; for it is true only if "at one time" and "at another time" be understood, respectively, in a different sense according as the reference is to the speeches (or narrative) with tally, or to the speeches (or narrative) without tally; in the former case, namely, the idiom is nearly always classical, in the latter a post-exilic complexion prevails. By the use of two ambiguous terms, Dr. French has thus concealed a real and important distinction. What I maintain (stated in my own words) is that in the speeches (as in the narratives) to which there are parallels in Samuel or Kings, though there may be occasional post-exilic touches, the greatly predominant character of the idioms (as of the ideas) is pre-exilic; while in the speeches found only in the Chronicles, though particular sentences may be classically expressed, post-exilic idioms are of frequent occurrence, and there are numerous affinities either in thought or expression with the post-exilic narratives peculiar to the Chronicles. And the differences between the two cases are considerable, and, at least in many instances, are so marked and significant as to amount to differences of kind. The question is thus not quite as Dr. French puts it at the bottom of p. 141: it is not sufficient for him to show that tallied speeches "can exhibit marks of lateness"; he must show that these marks of lateness are similar in number and character to those in the untallied speeches. For this purpose a study of *both*

alone, to demonstrate the post-exilic origin of every particular speech peculiar to the Chronicles. In forming a judgment on the authorship of these speeches, it is, however, impossible not to take account at the same time of their contents, as also of their intimate connection with the *post-exilic* narratives, in which they are embedded, and from which it is in most cases inconceivable that they were ever separate.

the speeches selected for comparison is essential. It was as far as possible from my intention to impute to Dr. French any conscious *suppressio veri*; all that I supposed was that he had not examined the language of the speeches in 1 Chr. 29 with any particular care, and that he took it for granted that it did not differ materially from that of the speeches with parallels in Samuel or Kings. And I thought that his omission in this respect was one which led him into serious error.

4. I may proceed now to consider Dr. French's strictures upon my remarks on the speeches in 1 Chr. 29 and 1 Chr. 17 (= 2 Sam. 7). Dr. French begins by disputing my supposition that the words שלמה בני נער ורך in 29, are borrowed from 22, 5. No doubt, in the abstract, the opposite supposition is a tenable one, though it may be doubted whether any one would have thought of it, *εἰ μὴ θέσω διαφυλάσσω*: the natural place for the remark to be first made is surely when David is *commencing* his preparations, rather than when they are *completed*. Dr. French also urges that *said* in 22, 5 means *said mentally*, so that the following words need not be those actually used by David. Does not the context, however, imply that אמר is used because the intention was one which was expressed openly? Even, however, if both these contentions of Dr. French be correct, my literary estimate of the speeches in chap. 29 remains unaffected: a particular subsidiary argument for the late date of the chapter falls through, and 22, 5 must be excluded from the list of speeches with late idioms placed by the Chronicler in the mouth of pre-exilic characters.

For the antithesis towards the end of the same verse, I compared 2 Chr. 19, 6 (in the speech of Jehoshaphat) as a slight indication that both were the work of one hand: I might have added 2 Chr. 20, 15 (speech of Jachaziel) כי לא לכם המלחמה כי לאלהים. It is possible, of course, that the thought of 2 Chr. 19, 6 may have been suggested by

Deuteronomy 1, 17, כי המשפט לאלהים הוא, as 20, 15 may have been suggested by 1 Samuel 17, 47, ליהודה המלחמה; but that is as consistent with my view of the date and authorship of the two passages as with Dr. French's; the *form* has in any case been altered, and that in such a way as to approximate to 1 Chr. 29, 1. 2 Chr. 20, 15. Naturally, I do not attach any conclusive weight to a single similarity of this kind; but arguments from style are nearly always cumulative, and it is of the essence of a cumulative argument for instances slight and inconclusive in themselves to acquire great cogency by combination.

In v. 12 the similarity with Psalm 103, 19 is too great not to make it probable that one passage is a reminiscence of the other; and the Chronicler elsewhere represents his characters as familiar with the Psalms: see not only v. 15, but 2 Chr. 6, 40-41, the conclusion attached by the Chronicler to Solomon's prayer (excerpted from 1 Kings 8, 23-50), and based evidently upon the late Psalm 132, 8. 9. 10a.¹ Still, it is admittedly difficult, given merely two similar passages, to show conclusively which is the original; and if the argument based upon the present passage be deemed doubtful, my position is, upon other grounds, so strong that I can well afford to dispense with it.

On v. 15 I should have thought that the terms used by me showed that I did not mean to quote Psalm 39, 13 and Job 8, 9 as proofs of the lateness of the verse in Chronicles, but in explanation of the smooth and flowing Hebrew (cf. my remark on v. 19). I purposely made the argument in my previous article independent of disputed critical conclu-

¹ With v. 41b, comp. Isa. 55, 8. Ps. 89, 50. Other examples in the speeches of familiarity with the phraseology of the Prophets and Psalms may readily be found, though for the reason mentioned above I have generally abstained from noticing them. Comp., however, v. 13, שם תפארתך, with Isa. 63, 14; v. 17, ולא תתך, with Jer. 12, 8. Ps. 7, 10. 17, 3. Prov. 17, 3; 2 Chr. 12, 7, חסתי, with Jer. 42, 18. 44, 6; 15, 5, מְהוֹמֵי רַבּוּת, with Amos 3, 9; 20, 7, זרע, אברהם אהיך, with Isa. 41, 8.

sions;¹ but if the present verse contains reminiscences of a Psalm which Dr. French appears willing to ascribe to the 8th or 9th century B.C., and of Job (which he will hardly contend to have been written as early as the reign of David), its *Davidic* authorship falls through of itself. The remark (on v. 18) as to the source of יצר מחשבות לבב had no polemical purpose, and was intended merely to remind the reader of a fact which he might not recall.

Dr. French passes next to the idioms used in the two speeches in 1 Chr. 29. V. 1 he frees speedily of two marks of the Chronicler's age and style by correcting the text with the help of the LXX. No doubt אשר for אחד greatly improves the first clause of the verse, and produces a smooth and classical sentence; but no previous commentator (so far as I am aware) had felt the correction to be necessary, and the very severe terms in which Dr. French rebukes another scholar² for presuming to follow the LXX. naturally discouraged me from venturing to innovate here. In being so ready to take a liberty himself which he refuses to allow another, Dr. French can hardly be said to be very consistent. In a comparison such as the present the fair method appears to me to be not to correct the text except upon grounds independent of the question in dispute, *i.e.*, except where it is either manifestly defective or altogether untranslatable; and the only passage in the present chapter where one of these grounds appears to me certainly to hold is v. 16, וכי מי (noted in my previous article).³ Nevertheless, the sentence before us is, no doubt,

¹ The only critical conclusions which I assumed in it were the late date of Ecclesiastes, and of Psalms 37 and 103. I did not assume the critical date of Deuteronomy. Of course, for those who accept this, the non-authentic character of at least many of the speeches assigned by the Chronicler to David, and other persons living before the 7th century B.C., follows without further argument; for they contain numerous and unmistakable reminiscences of that book.

² *Lex M.*, p. 134.

³ v. 11, כ might be *yēa* (Keil); but it seems to me more likely that either

more abrupt than is usual even with the Chronicler; and hence, though (as I said) previous commentators have felt no difficulty, I am ready to give Dr. French the benefit of the doubt, and to allow that the true reading may be אשר.

I cannot, however, make the same concession in the case of הבירה for הבית: there is no internal or syntactical ground in support of this alteration; it is prompted solely by the desire to clear the text of an inconvenient word.¹ Dr. French endeavours indeed to find an internal ground: but when it is remembered that "the house of Jehovah" is a standing designation of the Temple, what ambiguity could there have been in the sentences, "the house is not for man, but for Jehovah God," and (in the same context) "to build the house which I have prepared," to lead, as he supposes, to the substitution of הבירה?²

v. 2. Every one, surely, must feel that the thought of this verse might have been more briefly, and yet not less completely, expressed. Isa. 28, 13 ("Line upon (to) line, precept upon (to) precept," etc.), compared by Dr. French, is not in the least degree parallel.

v. 11, בַּתְּנִשָּׂא. I followed the best modern authorities in explaining this word as an anomalous Aramaizing infinitive. Let it however be granted that this view is incorrect, and that it is intended as a participle; the passage is then another example of a sentence without a subject expressed, which is characteristic of the Chronicler (*Intr.*, p. 504, No.

נֶצֶחַ.—לךְ יהוה) ובארץ (לךְ הוא) or כִּי, has dropped out after לך, splendour, glory, in the same verse is characterized by Keil as an Aramaism; I did not, however, cite it, on account of its occurrence in 1 Sam. 15, 29 (cf. my note, *ad loc.*).

¹ It has thus less justification than Wellhausen's omission (with the LXX.) of 1 Samuel 2, 22b; for in the case of this clause there are internal grounds, *entirely unconnected with his critical theory*, which make it doubtful whether it is an original part of the text, and it is treated accordingly as a gloss by both Klostermann and Kittel.

² "The house" alone occurs similarly elsewhere; e.g., 1 Kings 6, 1, "built the house for Jehovah" (not *house of*, A.V.); 2 Kings 12, 7, 22, 9.

27), and which would be even more marked, if the pronoun to be supplied were the second person, than it is when it is the third. Dr. French seeks again to remove the difficulty by correcting the text, but the *omission* of אַתָּה after ׀ in מִתְנַשֵּׂא cannot be said to be very probable. I prefer not to press what may be doubtful: the Massoretic text, however explained, is anomalous; and though the commentators have acquiesced in it, it would be hazardous to insist upon its integrity. Whether, however, the original text differed as much from what we now read as it must have done if the LXX. translated at all literally,¹ is more than I am prepared to maintain.

v. 12. "Riches and honour are *from before* thee." My note here, I should have thought, was sufficiently explicit; and yet Dr. French has misunderstood it. Of course, there are many contexts in which there would be nothing strange in the use of *before*, or even of *from before*; the peculiarity lies, as I explained, in the use of the combination "from before" in this particular context.

v. 13. מוֹדִים...וּמְהִלִּים. Certainly, this phrase is not "proof" of the Chronicler's composition; but in view of the fact that the combination is a common one in the Chronicles, it deserves a place in a cumulative argument. The single items in such an argument are not supposed to be individually "proofs." In the present instance, however, the inference which I base upon the phrase gains in probability by the fact that the construction of הִלֵּל with ׀ is not found elsewhere, except in the Chronicles (1 Chr. 16, 36 [*altered* from Ps. 106, 48]. 23, 5; 2 Chr. 5, 13. 20, 19. 29, 30. 30, 21; Ezr. 3, 11 *b* [*also*, in the phrase, הִדִּיתָ וְהִלֵּל, 1 Chr. 16, 4. 23, 30. 25, 3]). The case of the same words occurring in Hezekiah's Song, as quoted by Isaiah (38, 18), is in no respect parallel; for Isaiah never uses the combination.

¹ ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ταρασσεται πᾶς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔθνος.

v. 15. **מקוה** occurs 5 times in the O.T., 3 times in Jeremiah (14, 8. 17, 13. 50, 7) in the sense, harmonizing with its form, of “*object of hope*,” here and Ezra 10, 2, in the weakened sense of “*hope*” in the abstract. **תקוה** occurs 32 times in the O.T., once in Hosea (2, 17 [A.V. 15]), twice in Jeremiah (29, 11. 31, 17), twice in Ezekiel (19, 5. 37, 11), Ruth 1, 12, Lamentations 3, 29, 13 times in Job, 8 times in Proverbs (10, 28. 11, 7. 23. 19, 18, etc.), Psalms 9, 19. 62, 6. 71, 5. Zechariah 9, 12. I cannot allow that the two words are “*co-eval*,” in the sense in which Dr. French understands the term. **תקוה** is guaranteed as an early Hebrew word by Hosea; it is used by Jeremiah and Ezra at the beginning of the exile; nor am I committed to the post-exilic date of Ruth and Prov. 10, 1—22, 16. **מקוה** is used by Jeremiah in its proper sense of “*object of hope*”: as a synonym of **תקוה** it is found only here and Ezra 10, 2.¹ **תקוה** may have *continued* in use in post-exilic times; but **מקוה**, as its synonym, *first appears then*.

v. 17. **ומישרים תרצה**. It may be true that this clause has a poetical colouring: if so, however, the fact will agree excellently with my view of its authorship; for the Chronicler affects elsewhere poetic phraseology.²

v. 18. The rendering “*bear this in mind for*,” etc., is one for which Dr. French will hardly find support. Bertheau, Keil, Ball, and Oettli all construe as I did.³

¹ Contrast **לֹא מִקְוֶה לִי** here with **לֹא מִקְוֶה (לִי)** Prov. 19, 18. Ruth 1, 12. Jer. 31, 17. Lam. 3, 29. Job 11, 18. 14, 7.

² Comp. 1 Chr. 2, 30. 32 (**לֹא בָנִים**); 2 Chr. 14, 10 (**בֵּין רֹב לֹאִין כַּח**): see Isa. 40, 29b; Job 26, 2. 3; 15, 3 (**לֹלֵא אֱלֹהֵי אֲמַת וְג'**); 20, 15 and 33, 10 (**הַקְשִׁיב**). The present passage is indeed not improbably generalised from Ps. 9, 9. 17, 2. 75, 3. 96, 10. 98, 9. 99, 4. Is. 45, 19 (where God is said to see, judge, etc., **בְּמִישְׁרִים** or **בְּמִישְׁרִים**).

³ On v. 19 I might have added in my previous article that **לִבְבִי שָׁלֵם** is a favourite expression of the Chronicler's: see v. 9. 12, 38. 28, 9. 29, 9. 2 Chr. 16, 9. 19, 9. 25, 2; otherwise only 1 Ki. 8, 61. 11, 4. 15, 3. 14 (= 2 Chr. 15, 17); 2 Ki. 20, 3 (= Isa. 38, 3)—mostly, if not entirely, passages belonging to the compiler of Kings. The whole of the first part of the verse is no doubt a reminiscence of 1 Ki. 8, 61.

The deduction from my list of the very few instances which, upon textual or other grounds, may be allowed to be doubtful does not weaken or impair my argument. The great majority of words or constructions adduced by me as characteristic of the post-exilic age, Dr. French has not ventured to dispute. His confident assertions (*Lex Mosaica*, p. 165) that my "linguistic arguments go for nothing," and that "in all the speeches adduced in the *Contemporary Review*, in proof that the language is [*post-*] *exilic*, there are only two (!) expressions which can certainly be referred to that date," he has signally failed to substantiate.¹ In addition, moreover, to individual words and constructions, there are also to be noted the conformation of sentences, and the type of thought, neither of which can readily be tabulated, but both of which, as well in the speeches in 1 Chr. 29 as in the others, for which there are no parallels in Samuel or Kings, are often of a character appreciably different from that observable in pre-exilic writers, while they constantly display affinities with the narratives, found likewise in the Chronicles alone.

Let us now turn to 1 Chr. 17, which is excerpted from 2 Sam. 7. A re-examination of the speeches contained in this chapter will merely confirm the results reached in my previous article. I will treat the speeches, as Dr. French claims that they should be treated, on their own merits, without reference to the parallels in 2 Samuel. As before, in estimating their literary character, I assume textual error only where grammar or sense imperatively requires it: as the four most important passages (*vv.* 5,² 10,³

¹ Indeed, he admits now, though somewhat indirectly (p. 142, l. 4 from bottom), that the two speeches in 1 Chr. 29 "are *post-exilic* in language."

² "And I was from tent to tent, and from dwelling-place": evidently to *dwelling-place* has fallen out at the end, and probably also *going about* (מִתְהַלֵּךְ) after *was*.

³ Lit. "And I have told thee, and Jehovah will build thee an house." A.V., R.V., translate (illegitimately) as if ך stood for ם (as it actually does in Sam.).

17,¹ 18²) are already allowed by Dr. French in *Lex Mosaica* (p. 193) to be corrupt, there need be no dispute between us on this score. Excluding these passages then from the comparison, we have in *vv.* 4-9 a continuous passage, comprising (in the Hebrew) 100 consecutive words, classical alike in syntax and vocabulary, the only expression even remotely suggestive of the Chronicler's authorship being the solitary *בְּיָמָיו* (*v.* 7), for *בְּיָמָיו*, which, it must be remembered, is not unprecedented in classical Hebrew,³ and is, moreover, of a character too readily explicable as an alteration introduced by himself⁴ to justify us in assigning to his hand the entire passage. Dr. French, it is true, finds the transition from the past to the future in *v.* 8, "inelegant"; but I can see nothing in it deserving this epithet. There are similar transitions in Genesis 26, 22. 44, 29. 1 Samuel 17, 36. 2 Samuel 14, 7. 1 Kings 2, 44, and frequently.

v. 10*a*. Here there occurs the expression *לְיָמָיו*, my remark on which Dr. French has misunderstood, as I also (it now seems) had misunderstood the objection raised by him in *Lex Mosaica*. But in the *plural*, which I now see is the source of his difficulty, there is nothing remarkable: the meaning is, of course, not (as he renders), "from the day," but "from the *days* when I appointed judges over Israel," *i.e.* (as Keil rightly explains), from the period when the judges ruled over Israel. What can there be "unclassical," or "modern," in this use of the word "days"?

v. 10*b*. One of the corrupt passages, referred to above.

¹ וראיתי כחור האדם המעלה.

² Lit. "And what can David yet add unto thee for honour thy servant (accus.)?" The paraphrase of A.V., R.V. is quite indefensible. The omission, with LXX., of "thy servant" (which may have been faultily anticipated by a scribe from clause *b*) would yield a tolerable sense; but the parallel in 2 Sam. makes it probable that the real corruption lies deeper.

³ See *e.g.* Judg. 7, 23 (twice); 10, 11 (twice); 19, 16.

⁴ As it is actually so introduced in 1 Chr. 11, 22. 15, 25; 2 Chr. 8, 9. 26, 8 (see 2 Sam. 23, 20. 6, 12; 1 Ki. 9, 22; 2 Ki. 15, 2, respectively).

vv. 11-14. In this passage, comprising 83 consecutive words, all is classical, both in thought, construction, and vocabulary, except (at most) four words—מלכות twice, העמיד in the figurative sense of *establish*, and העולם with the article—each of which can be naturally explained as due to an alteration made by the Chronicler himself. On v. 11, ללכת עם אבותיך, “to walk”—rather, to go—“with thy fathers,” Dr. French remarks indeed, “unclassical in thought and expression”: but this judgment cannot be sustained; the *words* are classical and correctly construed; the *phrase*, in the sense in which it is here used—a synonym of the more usual “lie with thy fathers”—does not occur besides; and a phrase which is merely unusual cannot, if the words and syntax are correct, be stigmatized as unclassical. For הלך, used in connection with death, and having nearly the force of *go away, depart*, cf. Gen. 15, 2. 1 Ki. 2, 2. Ps. 39, 14. מלכות “kingdom” (*ibid.*, and v. 14), is not exclusively post-exilic, as I have said (by implication) in my *Introduction* (p. 503); see Numb. 24, 7. 1 Sam. 20, 31. 1 Ki. 2, 12, and (I suppose Dr. French will allow me to add) Ps. 45, 7; hence the occurrence of the word, when not supported by concurrent marks of a later style, is not decisive in a question of date. But even if it be granted to be a clear mark of the Chronicler's hand, it still does not carry with it the surrounding (classical) context: for it is admittedly the custom of the Chronicler to introduce verbal alterations in the passages excerpted by him; it is thus perfectly reasonable to suppose that he has substituted it for ממלכה, exactly as he has done in 1 Chr. 14, 2 (= 2 Sam. 5, 12), and in 2 Chr. 7, 18 (= 1 Ki. 9, 5).¹ The same remark applies to העמדתי in v. 14; this occurs similarly in 2 Chr. 33, 8 (being substituted for נתתי of 2 Kings 21, 8), in a context which otherwise is worded quite classically, and does not differ materially from the parallel in Kings.

¹ A reference to 2 Sam. 7, 12. 16 shows that this is what he has actually done.

עַד הָעוֹלָם, with the article (= εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) is next noted by Dr. French as post-exilic. It is true, the usage occurs principally in passages which are late,¹ but it is surely of a kind to which the smallest possible weight can be attached. I suppose that the word was felt to be more emphatic with the article; but if Jeremiah so construed it, I do not understand why another pre-exilic writer might not do the same. It is *not*, however, a usage characteristic of the Chronicler, for he elsewhere regularly² prefers the ordinary עַד עוֹלָם (vv. 12, 14b, 22, 23, 24, in this very chapter, and nine times besides; also two or three times עַד לְעוֹלָם).

vv. 16b, 17a. All classical.

vv. 17b and 18a are two more of the corrupt passages.

vv. 18b, 19. In *Lex Mosaica*, p. 194, there occurs, under the heading of "Modern Words and Forms," the note, "v. 19, הַגְּדִלּוֹת, the greatness (pl.)." From the form of this note, I naturally inferred that it was the *plural* which Dr. French objected to as "modern"; and upon this supposition my appeal to the plural גְּבוּרִיּוֹת in Deuteronomy 3, 24 was perfectly reasonable and fair. It now appears, however, that it is the word itself (whether singular or plural) which Dr. French regards as modern. The other occurrences of it are vv. 19a, 21. 2 Sam. 7, 21. 23. Ps. 71, 21. 145, 3. 6. 1 Chr. 29, 11. Esth. 1, 4. 6, 3. 10, 2; hence it is true that (the date of Ps. 71 being uncertain), were it not for the parallel in 2 Samuel 7, it would not be possible to show that it was in early use. But there is nothing in the *form* of the word indicative of lateness; nor is it a word like עֵתִיק, or בִּירָה, or נִגּוּךְ, or צֶרֶךְ, or קָבֵל, etc.; hence it cannot outweigh the numerous and clear marks of pre-exilic date afforded by the context. v. 19b (as was remarked in my

¹ Viz: Jer. 28, 8. Joel 2, 2. Ps. 28, 9. 41, 14. 106, 48 (whence 1 Chr. 16, 36). 133, 3. Neh. 9, 5. Dan. 12, 7, and here. (Eccl. 3, 11 cannot be compared, the application of the word being there different.)

² Except in the emphatic liturgical formula (= ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) 1 Chr. 16, 36 (in a citation from Ps. 106, 48): cf. Ps. 41, 14. Neh. 9, 5.

previous article) yields an indifferent sense, and is open consequently to the suspicion of being corrupt.¹

vv. 20-24, comprising seventy-nine consecutive words, are throughout classically worded, except in two or three passages, open (upon independent grounds) to the suspicion of being textually corrupt. In v. 20 ככל would be expected for בכל, and ought perhaps to be read for it; but even if the text be correct, the use of כ for ב in such a connection is not a characteristic of later Hebrew. In v. 21 לעם would be more elegant than עם; but the omission of ל is no peculiarity of the Chronicler's style² (see v. 22), and is probably (as Dr. French himself suggests) due merely to textual error. שם גדלות ונוראות is a strange phrase; but it would be a grave mistake to suppose that every such phrase in a Hebrew writer was evidence of a post-exilic date. There are strange phrases in 1 Sam. 14 or 20, for instance, which, however, even by those who attribute them to the original author, have never been interpreted as marks of late authorship. The present phrase wears the appearance of corruption: the LXX. express שם גדול ונורא.³ In לגרש מפני עמך אשר פדית ממצרים גוים, the ending in Samuel ואלהיו גוים, yields, no doubt, a better balanced sentence; but the place of the object at the end is correct,⁴ and there is nothing in the conformation of the clause which betrays, or suggests, the Chronicler's hand.

v. 25. The rest of this verse being classical, the oblique לבנות is merely an indication that the Chronicler (as in 1 Chr. 21, 1. 2 Chr. 6, 20, compared with 2 Sam. 24, 1. 1 Ki. 8, 29) has altered the construction employed in the

¹ 2 Sam. 7, 22 shows that this suspicion is well founded.

² His tendency is rather to use ל freely, and to employ it where in classical Hebrew it would not be required.

³ 2 Sam. 7, 23, however, appears to show that in fact the corruption is a different one. See EXPOSITOR, April, p. 246, note.

⁴ See Am. 6, 14. Jer. 13, 13. 15, 11b. Ex. 32, 32. 2 Sam. 3, 20b, etc.; and comp. my note on 2 Sam. 14, 12.

source which he is excerpting. On מצא להתפלל Dr. French observes that an object such as את לבו (2 Sam. 7, 27) is required in classical Hebrew; but if I am not to make any use of the parallel in 2 Samuel, he must not do so either, and as מצא את לבו does not occur elsewhere, he would not, but for the parallel, know that this was the case. The statement itself is, however, a doubtful one; for in Judges 9, 33. 17, 9. 10 מצא has no object, except, I suppose, לעשות, and לגור, understood from the preceding clause. Cannot מצא להתפלל be explained on the analogy of this usage? *Found (it) to pray* is at least no stranger expression than *found his heart* [not, as A.V., R.V., "found (it) in his heart"] *to pray*, which occurs in 2 Samuel.

vv. 26, 27. All classical, except ומברך לעולם at the end, where the hand of the Chronicler is most probably responsible for the absence of the subject (*Introd.*, p. 504). The description of להיות in v. 27 as "oblique narration" is incorrect.

Dr. French remarks further on the "redundance" of v. 14, as compared with vv. 11, 12, and of much of vv. 22-27; but this "redundance" (or "diffuseness") is only of that *rhetorical* kind, of which there are many perfectly classical examples in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and elsewhere, and which is very different from the *statistical* redundance observable in 1 Chr. 29, 2. The statement (p. 150, bottom) that the syntax of 1 Chr. 17 is "heavy" I must dispute altogether:¹ indeed, Dr. French betrays unconsciously his inability to substantiate it by instancing, in his notes on the chapter (pp. 147-9), only passages which he had before (in *Lex Mosaisca*) owned himself to be corrupt! With what reason can a judgment upon authorship be founded upon a text for which it is admitted that the author is not responsible?

¹ Except, certainly, in the corrupt passages; but the syntax of a corrupt passage cannot properly be spoken of at all.

Surveying now the two speeches in this chapter as a whole, we find that, disregarding the corrupt passages, the (possible) marks of lateness are confined to single words, sometimes even to single letters.¹ In all other respects, the speeches are throughout pre-exilic in thought and classical in expression. Dr. French, in declaring (*Lex Mosaica*, p. 194), that "the language throughout is obscure and redundant, the syntax is heavy and awkward," is guilty of an almost incredible exaggeration of the facts. In spite of his contradiction (EXPOSITOR, p. 151), I must still insist that in the speeches in 1 Chr. 17 the marks of the Chronicler's hand are "few and slight," not affecting at all the general tone and style, while in those in 1 Chr. 29 they are strongly marked and numerous, and embrace not only single words, but also the syntax and conformation of sentences, as well as the ideas (in so far as these are of a distinctive character). Hence it is impossible not to form a different judgment on the authorship of the speeches in the two chapters. In 1 Chr. 17 classical idiom preponderates almost exclusively: sentence after sentence (except where the text is corrupt) is clear and flowing;² hence the few non-classical expressions which it contains are properly and naturally explained as changes introduced by the Chronicler: in 1 Chr. 29, on the contrary, the marks of post-exilic style and thought are so continuous that the whole can only reasonably be concluded to be the composition of a post-exilic hand.³

¹ V. 7, מאחרי for מן־אחרי; vv. 11, 14, מלכותי for ממלכתי; v. 14, העמיר; v. 14, עולם for העולם; vv. 19, 20, נדלה; v. 25, לבנות לו; v. 27 end, the omission of the subject: also God in vv. 2, 3 (introduction), 16, 17. But, as we have seen, very few of these can be treated as pointing necessarily and unreservedly to the Chronicler's hand.

² I deliberately repeat these two epithets, in spite of Dr. French's assertion (p. 150) that they are a "misrepresentation of fact": at most, the last two words of v. 27 might be described as not "flowing." I presume that, in forming this judgment, he accidentally omitted to leave out of account the corrupt passages.

³ Or (an alternative which here, as in other cases, I have no desire to ex-

The literary character of the speeches in 1 Chr. 17 is precisely similar to that of the narrative in 2 Chr. 18. The style of this chapter, as a whole, is classical and pure; but here and there we notice late or peculiar expressions which remind us of the style of the Chronicler, and suggest that they are due to his hand (*v.* 1, עֶשֶׂר וַיִּכְבֹּד, and לָרֶב;¹ *v.* 2, לִקְצֵי שָׁנִים;² and לְשִׁמְרוֹן;³ *v.* 2, לָרֶב again; *v.* 3*b*, וַעֲמַד בַּמִּלְחָמָה;⁴ *v.* 5, *God*; *v.* 31*b*, "And Jehovah helped⁵ him, and *God* enticed them from him").

A reference to 1 Kings 22 proves this to be the case, and shows that the expressions in question have been introduced by the Chronicler.⁶ The chapter, as a whole, is pre-exilic, and in all other respects retains its pre-exilic character unimpaired.

Of course it cannot be expected that such traces of the Chronicler's style will occur everywhere in precisely the same proportion: in 1 Chr. 19 (=2 Sam. 10), or 2 Chr. 10, 1-11, 4 (=1 Ki. 12), for instance, they are less numerous than in the chapter just noticed; in 1 Chr. 21 (=2 Sam. 24) they are more so; in 2 Chr. 5 (=1 Ki. 8, 1-11 [A.V. 7, 51-8, 10]), while the chapter as a whole is free from them, they abound, in a very marked form, in *vv.* 11*b*-13*a*, which a reference to the parallel in Kings shows to be an insertion in the original text. But, in the case of the passages,

clude) a very considerable expansion of the elements handed down by tradition or mentioned in written sources.

¹ *Introduction*, p. 502 ff.; Nos. 2 and 24.

² Cf. Dan. 11, 6. 13. 12, 13; Neh. 13, 6. Classical Hebrew says קָצַץ; and for שָׁנִים (indef.) would use שָׁנִים.

³ In classical Hebrew שִׁמְרוֹן. The use of ל to denote the goal, after a verb of motion, is greatly more common in Chr. than in early Hebrew. In early Hebrew it is chiefly confined to certain special phrases (לְבִיתוֹ, לְדַרְכּוֹ, לְלֹאֵהָלָיו).

⁴ *Introduction*, *ibid.*, No. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 10. *Entice*, in a good sense, is also peculiar.

⁶ The Chronicler has also made other slight alterations in excerpting the chapter, adding, or omitting, for instance, such words as *King of Judah* and *to battle*, *v.* 4; *unto me*, *v.* 17; *thirty and two*, *v.* 30; but these are evidently not traceable by their literary style.

whether narrative or speeches, which have parallels in Samuel or Kings, these peculiarities never preponderate to the same extent that they do in the passages which are without parallel; the *general* and *predominant* character of the language remains in those cases early and classical.

Let me in conclusion cite two or three instances of rather a different kind, illustrating the literary affinities of the speeches peculiar to the Chronicles, partly with one another or with the narrative in which they are embedded, partly with post-exilic idiom.

שׁוּב, *to seek*, with reference to God, is rare in Samuel and Kings, and is always there used of seeking God on a particular occasion, and especially of consulting Him by a prophet.¹ In the Chronicles it is a much more common word, and is used more generally of seeking God in the various exercises and offices of religion: it is found thus, in narratives, 1 Chr. 21, 30. 2 Chr. 1, 5 (the altar). 12, 14 (Rehoboam "set not his heart to seek Jehovah"). 14, 4 ("commanded Judah to seek Jehovah"). 15, 12 ("entered into a covenant to seek Jehovah"). 13. (16, 12). 17, 4. 20, 3. 24, 14 (of serving foreign gods,—in a passage *inserted* in the text of 2 Ki. 14, 11). 26, 5 (twice). 31, 21. 34, 3. Ezr. 6, 21 (cf. 7, 10). But it also occurs in exactly the same application in speeches: viz. 1 Chr. 13, 3 (David), "We sought not unto it (the ark) in the days of Saul," 15, 13, "We sought him not according to the ordinance," 22, 19; 2 Chr. 14, 7 (Asa), "We have sought Jehovah our God, we have sought Him, and He hath given us rest on every side"; 15, 2 (Azariah); 19, 3 (Jehu, son of Hanani), "Thou hast set thy heart to seek God"; 22, 9; 25, 15 (of foreign gods, in the address of a prophet to King Amaziah); 30, 19 (Hezekiah), "Every one that setteth his heart to seek God"; Ezr. 4, 2.

¹ 1 Sam. 9, 9. 1 Ki. 14, 5. 22, 5. 7. 8 (= 2 Chr. 18, 4. 6. 7). 2 Ki. 1, 16. 3, 11. 22, 13. 18 (= 2 Chr. 84, 21. 26): similarly of consulting false gods, 2 Ki. 1, 3. 6. 16. Isa. 8, 19. 19, 3. Dt. 18, 11.

Is there not a strong presumption that all these passages, whether in narrative or speeches, are the work of one and the same hand?

This is not all, however. Most of the speeches just quoted display also features tending *independently* to show partly that they are the work of one and the same hand, partly that this hand is that of the Chronicler. Thus, in four of the passages cited, we observe, twice in narrative (2 Chr. 12, 14. Ezr. 7, 10; see also 2 Chr. 20, 33), and twice in speeches (2 Chr. 19, 3. 30, 19), the same expression, *to set* (or *direct*) *the heart* (הִכִּין לִבּוֹ),¹ connecting the speeches with each other, and also with the narrative. In 1 Chr. 13, 3. 15, 13. 2 Chr. 30, 19 we observe the peculiarities noted in my previous paper, pp. 249, 254. The speech of Azariah (2 Chr. 15, 2-7) affords more numerous points of contact with the style or thought of the Chronicler. Thus in *v. 2a* notice the opening address, *Hear ye me* (שָׁמְעוּנִי), *Asa and all Judah and Benjamin*, observing (1) the great similarity in form with the opening words of 1 Chr. 28, 1 (David), 2 Chr. 13, 4 (Abijah), 20, 20 (Jehoshaphat), 29, 5 (Hezekiah), and remembering (2) that *no other* speech in the Old Testament opens in this manner; in *v. 2b* note the similarity in both thought and expression partly with 1 Chr. 28, 9 (David), "If thou seekest him, he will be found of thee, and if thou forsakest him, he will reject² thee for ever"; partly with 2 Chr. 12, 5 (Shemaiah), "Ye have forsaken me; I also have forsaken you in the hand of Shishak"; 24, 20 (Zechariah), "Ye have forsaken Jehovah, and He hath forsaken you"; *v. 3* the syntax of וַיִּמָּכֶם לִישְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר אֱלֹהֵי אֲמֹת וְנָ; *v. 5a*, כִּי מְהוּמָה רַבָּה עַל כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ; *v. 5b*, כִּי מְהוּמָה רַבָּה עַל כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ; as well as the general tone and manner of the

¹ Occurring otherwise only 1 Sam. 7, 8. Ps. 78, 8. Job 11, 13; and (with God as subject) 1 Chr. 29, 18. Ps. 10, 17.

² For the unusual word here rendered "reject," cf. 2 Chr. 11, 14 (narrative); 29, 19 (speech).

whole address, so different from those in Samuel or Kings, and so analogous to what is observable elsewhere in the parts peculiar to the Chronicles.

Let us take another example. אִשְׁמָה, *guilt*, is a rare word in ordinary Hebrew (the usual synonyms being עֲוֹן, חַטָּאת, פֶּשַׁע), but occurs several times in Chr.—Ezr., viz., in narratives, 2 Chr. 24, 18. 33, 23. Ezr. 10, 19; and in speeches, viz. Joab's, 1 Chr. 21, 3 (in an *insertion* in 2 Sam. 24, 3); Oded's, 28, 10. 13 (three times); and Ezra's, Ezr. 9, 6. 7. 13. 15. 10, 10. Otherwise it is found only in the laws, Lev. 4, 3. 5, 24. 26 [in these two passages more probably an *infinitive*]; Am. 8, 14; and Ps. 69, 6. The speeches of Oded in 2 Chr. 28, 9–11 and 13, now, have other marks of late style: notice, for instance, the heavy syntax of v. 10, הֲלֹא רַק אַתָּם כִּי לְאַשְׁמַת יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ עֲמַכֶּם אֲשָׁמוּת לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם; of v. 13, אַתָּם אֹמְרִים לְהוֹסִיף עַל חַטָּאתֵנוּ וְעַל אֲשָׁמֹתֵנוּ; v. 9, זָעַף [cf. 16, 10. 26, 19: otherwise rare and poetic], עַד ל' [Introd., p. 506]: v. 9b, וְתִהְיֶה בָּם בֹּזֵעַ עַד לַשָּׁמַיִם הַגֵּיץ, and v. 13b, כִּי רַבָּה, אֲשָׁמָה לָנוּ וְחֶרֶן אָף עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, also, are surely not worded as a pre-exilic writer would have worded them.

Dr. French suggests (p. 150) that the instances of unclassical idiom collected by me in my previous article (p. 245) are "probably the only ones to be found in speeches"; but can it be pretended that the sentences just quoted from the speeches of Azariah and Oded are classically constructed? or that 2 Chr. 14, 10 (Asa) אֵין עֹמֵד לְעֹזֹר בֵּין רַב לְאֵין כַּח (Asa), and 2 Chr. 16, 9 (Hanani), אֵל יַעֲצֹר עֹמֵד אֲנִי לְהִתְחַזֵּק עִם לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֵלֵינוּ נִסְכַּלְתָּ עַל זֹאת² כִּי מַעֲתָה יֵשׁ עִמָּךְ הַלְרָשָׁע לְעֹזֹר וּלְשֹׂנְאֵי יְהוָה תֹּאדָב וּבֹזָאת, or 19, 2, מִלְחָמוֹת, or 19, 6b (Jehoshaphat), וְעִמָּכֶם דִּבֶּר, עֲלִיד קֶצֶף מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה³

¹ Note here the omission of the relative; and see also above, p. 295, *note*.

² In prose זֹאת עַל is a late idiom: v. 10. 29, 9 (speech). 32, 20. Ezr. 8, 23. 9, 15. 10, 2. Neh. 13, 14.

³ Note here (a) בֹּזָאת (as here employed, a late usage: only so besides 20, 17. 1 Chr. 27, 24: see the classical use of בֹּזָאת in Gen. 42, 15. 33. 1 Sam. 11, 2 *al.*);

כי אין עם יהודה אלהינו עולה ומשא פנים ומקח, ¹ 19, 7b, כשפט כי מעלת ולא לך לכבוד, ² 26, 18 (priests to Uzziah), שחד מיהודה אלהיך, are sentences such as would be penned by the writers of Samuel or Kings?

I might continue: but I have perhaps written enough for my purpose.³ Dr. French has taken a position which he will find it impossible to maintain. He disputes, be it observed, not only my *inference* from the style of the speeches peculiar to the Chronicles, that they are the composition of a much later hand than those in Samuel or Kings, but the *facts* upon which that inference is based: he denies that there are *any differences whatever* between the two classes of speeches: "the alleged differences are non-existent. The speeches for which there are parallels exhibit the compiler's hand as much as those for which there is no voucher, while the latter bear no stronger impress of his individuality than the former."⁴ Even Keil, however, owns frankly that this is not the case. Of the four speeches in 1 Chr. 22, 7-16. 28, 2-10. 12-22 [*sic*: ? 19-21]. 29, 1-5 he remarks that "in contents and form, in thought and language, the individuality of the Chronicler is so prominent in them that we must regard them as free expansions of the thoughts which at the time stirred the soul of the aged king."⁴ Delitzsch speaks yet more distinctly. "The speeches which the Chronicles have in common with the Kings read almost

(b) the resemblance in expression (קצף על) with v. 10. 24, 18. 29, 8 (speech). 32, 25. 26, and especially 1 Chr. 27, 24.

¹ With clause a, comp. 14, 13. 17, 10. 20, 29. In this speech, consisting of two verses, *each* clause has thus a noticeable point of contact, with either the style or the thought of the Chronicler (on v. 6a, see above, p. 290). To prevent misunderstanding, I should explain that this and the preceding notes are not intended to comment upon all the peculiarities of the Chronicler's style occurring in the passages quoted.

² I had noted, for instance, some suggestive instances of dependence upon Deuteronomy, but I have no space for developing them. Perhaps I may revert to the subject on a future occasion.

³ *Lex. M.*, p. 165; repeated, *Expositon*, p. 145 sq.

⁴ *Comm. on Chron.*, p. 28.

verbally the same; the others have an *entirely different physiognomy*.”¹ According to Dr. French the physiognomy is *entirely the same*!² The alleged differences are “non-existent”! And when we come to the further question, and ask how Delitzsch supposes this different physiognomy to have arisen, we find that he adopts the same explanation that I do: the speeches peculiar to the Chronicles display, namely, similarities of thought and expression, which are evidence that they cannot be referred to the original authors, but that they are imbued with the individuality of a later compiler.³ Whether the form of these speeches is due entirely to the Chronicler himself, or whether it had in part, or even principally, been already assumed in the Chronicler’s main authority, the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,⁴ which (in Delitzsch’s words) “must in tone and style have resembled his own,” does not affect the present question: the differences are there, and it is extraordinary that any one capable of forming literary judgments should be found to deny them. For my own part I have propounded no novel or precarious theory, and nothing which does not rest upon a wide and secure induction of facts. In my former article I simply exemplified, by concrete instances, that “entirely different physiognomy” of which Delitzsch speaks; while in the inferences which I based upon it I have maintained nothing which is not abundantly warranted by the facts, and at the same time supported by the best and most independent authorities who have written on the subject.

S. R. DRIVER.

¹ *Comm. on Isaiah*, p. xvi. (ed. 3), p. 11 (ed. 4).

² I presume that this is no unjust paraphrase of the judgment quoted a few lines above from *Lex Mosæica*.

³ Similarly Dillmann, in Herzog’s *Encyclopædie*, s.v. *Chronik* (p. 224, ed. 2).

⁴ The latter alternative is preferred by Bertheau (p. xxvii.): comp. *Introd.*, pp. 498, 499.

A FRAGMENT OF THE ORIGINAL HEBREW
GOSPEL.

“AFTER all that has been written upon the ‘Gospel according to the Hebrews,’ it requires some courage to reopen the discussion of the question; but it seems to be indispensable.” With these words Theodore Zahn begins the chapter on this Gospel in his great work, *The History of the Canon of the New Testament* (vol. ii., 1892, p. 642). Not much more than a dozen short passages from this Gospel, or as many references, have been handed down to us; yet in the work just mentioned more than eighty pages are devoted to it. It is not the intention of the present article to enter into a full discussion of the questions relating to this Gospel. English readers may consult Nicholson’s *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, or any work dealing with the introduction to the New Testament, especially Westcott’s *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*. Suffice it to say that this Gospel “according to the Hebrews,” or “as used among the Hebrews”—for this will be the better translation of its title, καθ’ Ἑβραίων, *secundum Hebraeos*—is quoted by the earliest fathers of the Greek Church, by Hegesippus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origenes, and Eusebius; while others, as Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Theodoret, know of it only by hearsay. Our knowledge of it, however, depends chiefly upon St. Jerome, the famous author of the Latin Bible. At two different periods of his life this ἀνὴρ τριγλωττός had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this book. The first time was when for several years (A.D. 374–379) he was leading an ascetic life in the desert of Chalcis (Kinnesrin), a short day’s journey from Berœa (Aleppo), where a Christian Jew, or Jewish Christian, first imbued him with the knowledge of Hebrew. Then he obtained from the Nazaræans—that

is, the Judæo-Christian community of Berœa-Aleppo—a copy of their Gospel, and as early as that time, if we may believe him, made a transcript of it. Afterwards he again saw a copy of it in the famous library of Cæsarea, which belonged formerly to Origen, the greatest Biblical scholar of Christian antiquity. It may have been about the year 390, and at Bethlehem, that he translated it into Greek and Latin.¹

But no copies of this translation have come down to us ; we are restricted to the few quotations of Jerome himself. Only two of these quotations shall be discussed in the present article.

The first relates to Matthew xxvii. 51, where we read, “*And behold, the veil of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom,*” a passage, certainly, about which any reasonable explanation will be welcome. At three different periods of his life Jerome alludes to this passage.

As early as A.D. 381, in a letter to Pope Damasus (Epist. 18, 9), he writes in connection with Is. 6, 4: “*Nonnulli vero . . . superliminare sublatum illo tempore prædicant, quando velum templi scissum est, et universa domus Israel erroris nube confusa.*”

Again, in the year 398, in his commentary on Matthew, when he comes to this chapter, he says: “*In evangelio cuius saepe facimus mentionem*”—thus “*facimus*” in the present tense of the verb, not “*fecimus*,” as is often quoted, according to the best edition of his works: that of Vallarsi—“*superliminare templi infinitae magnitudinis fractum esse atque divisum legimus.*”

Finally, about the year 406 or 407, he writes again in a

¹ “*Porro ipsum hebraicum (sc. evangelium Matthæi) habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaraeis qui in Berœa urbe Syriæ hoc volumine utuntur describendi facultas fuit. . . . Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebræos et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatus est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur.*”

letter, ad Hedibiam (Epist. 120, 8): "*In evangelio autem, quod hebraicis literis scriptum est, legimus, non 'velum templi scissum,' sed 'superliminare templi mirae magnitudinis corruisse.'*"

We need not discuss every word of these references. According to the principle *variatio delectat*, Jerome is rather free in his expressions: *sublatum, fractum atque divisum, corruere, infinita, mira magnitudo*. Neither must we assume that when he says: "*In evangelio legimus, non 'velum scissum,' sed,*" the former reading was directly refuted in the Gospel. We are only concerned with the veil, and its alternative, the *superliminare*. Our Gospel of Matthew is Greek, and has *καταπέτασμα*, but the general tradition is, that Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew; Jerome says of his Gospel that it was Hebrew and had *superliminare*. Strange to say, no scholar as yet, as far as I know, seems to have asked earnestly enough what may have been the exact Hebrew word which Jerome read there. Else he would have long ago arrived at the solution of the riddle: that *καταπέτασμα*, veil, of our present Matthew is the translation of the very same Hebrew word which by Jerome is rendered "*superliminare*," only influenced by a little misreading. The Greek *καταπέτασμα* corresponds, as every Hebrew scholar will know by heart, and a glance at any concordance proves, to a very common Hebrew word: פרכת, *prkt* (pronounced *paroket*); *superliminare*, again, stands for a rather rare word, spelt with the very same letters, but in a little different order: כפתר, *kptr* (pronounced *kaftor*). This Hebrew word stands in the Old Testament: Amos ix. 1; Zephaniah ii. 14. By a very happy accident—which may serve to convince every one how easily such transpositions of letters occur, especially where *liquidæ* are concerned—the Septuagint, the old Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, has read at the very passage (Amos ix. 1) a third possible grouping of these letters; for it has "ἰλαστήριον, *id*

est כפרת, *kprt* = *kapporet*." Can there be any longer the least doubt? Καταπέτασμα is translation of a misread כפרת, *superliminare*.

The very first principle of textual criticism is: *Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua*. That reading is believed to be true from which the change into the other is more easy; the rarer word is likely to change into the one more in use. The latter is in this case no doubt *prkt*, פרכת, *veil*, instead of *kptr*, כפרת. Ask any student of divinity what is the Hebrew expression for the veil of the Temple and the Tabernacle, and he will say "*paroket*." Ask him what is ἱλαστήριον in Hebrew, and he knows: *kapporet*. Ask what is *superliminare*, and few, if any, will without resort to the dictionary or concordance be certain about כפרת, *kaftor*.

But what is most natural from the principle of textual criticism is supported in this instance by the context. "The earth did quake," says the very same verse. What are we to expect? that "a veil is rent"? No, that a lintel of a large door be broken, or that something like an ornament of it, a chapiter, tumble down, or whatever may be the exact meaning of *sublatum, divisum et fractum, corruere*, and of *superliminare* and its Hebrew original *kaftor*.¹ It is really strange that an author writing as lately as 1889, and comparing these two versions said of the relation in the Hebrew Gospel, "It shows a decidedly apocryphal predilection for the miraculous in the crassest sense (*das Wunderbare im grassesten Sinn*). Instead of the tearing of a thin (!) veil, this unsound craving for legends demands the thundering (!) bursting of a massive lintel *infinitae magnitudinis*."² The very opposite is true, and even in our present Greek

¹ This is a philological and archæological question for itself, not to be treated here at length. It must suffice to say, that the etymology seems to show *kaftor* to be a pear-like ornament, some sort of chapiter, as the English Bible (R.V.) renders it in both places of the Old Testament, and that the Latin of Jerome gives freedom to think of *superliminare* with or without the definite article.

² Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 341.

text there are little traces left testifying for the Hebrew original. If the veil were rent from the bottom to the top it would have had the same effect; but if something falls down—*corruit*—it cannot be otherwise than from above downwards. Again, our present Greek manuscripts have for the most part that the veil was rent *in twain*, εἰς δύο or εἰς δύο μέρη (Matt. xxvii. 51), or μέσον (*in the midst*) (Luke xxiii. 45). But if you refer to the critical apparatus of Tischendorf or any large edition of the Greek Testament, you will find that these intensive expressions are not quoted in Matthew, for instance, by Origen and Eusebius, in Luke by the most famous Codex Bezae, and are, probably, later additions. As to my judgment, there can be not the least doubt. Jerome has preserved to us in this passage *the true reading of the original Hebrew Gospel*, which clears away a very great difficulty.

But the insight gained for this passage has its consequences for others. *Si haberemus hebraeum Matthaeum; facile expediremus*, said Luther once. Here at least we have a bit of it, but we have one also for another passage of even greater importance.

From the second century there has been a questioning about the meaning of the word ἐπιούσιος in the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer: *supersubstantialis, quotidianus, daily, needy, abundant*, and I know not what other translations and explanations have been proposed. At last the question is settled by reference to the Hebrew Gospel. Of course the passage is long known and frequently spoken of, in which Jerome writes on Matthew vi. 11.

“In evangelio, quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, pro supersubstantiali pane reperi *mahar*, quod dicitur *crastinum* ut sit sensus: *panem nostrum crastinum, id est futurum, da nobis hodie*.”

But up to the present time the opposite views were possi-

ble. Such a good Hebrew scholar as *Delitzsch* declared that *mahar* was quite out of place as a translation of the Greek *ἐπιούσιος*, and considered this very passage as a proof that the Gospel of the Hebrews was dependent from the Greek and did not deserve belief. Other scholars, on the contrary, did take the opposite view; one of the strongest advocates that *ἐπιούσιος* must be our bread *for the coming day* was *Paul de Lagarde*. Theodore Zahn, too, in the work to which we alluded at the commencement of this article, took the same view. His reasoning was quite sound. He said, if anywhere, we must expect that among the Hebrews (Acts vi. 1) the real form of the prayer was propagated which Jesus taught His disciples. Now let us suppose for the moment the *evangelium secundum Hebraeos* was a translation from the Greek. "Is it likely," Zahn asks, "that the Hebrew translator left the form of prayer which he was accustomed to, and cared for, and followed the etymological explanation of a very rare Greek word? Impossible! Even Jerome," says Zahn, "and Luther left the *quotidianus* and *daily*—the former at all events in Luke xi. 3, the latter at both places, though they knew that *ἐπιούσιος* did not mean daily. Why? because the praxis of prayer in the Occident was too strong for them. The same is the case with the Revised Version. Therefore *crastinum* must be considered to be the true meaning if in the supposed case the Gospel according to the Hebrews be a translation." But from other grounds Zahn stated that it was no translation, and that at all events in this passage the originality was on its side. After the light that has fallen on Matthew xxvii. I believe that also for Matthew vi. 11 Jerome's note is a beacon for the true understanding of the Gospel. *Distingue linguas et concordabit Scriptura*. What the Revised Version put in the margin—"Give us this day," or, as we read in Luke, "Give us day by day our bread": "*for the coming day*"—we are now even with

more right entitled to include in our daily prayer. By the same method of going back to the Hebrew original, which must be presupposed to lie at the bottom of our present Greek Gospels, another variation disappears, which has greatly vexed as well the pious as the learned Bible reader. In the history of the Passion it is said by Matthew (xxvii. 34) that they gave Jesus *vinegar* to drink mingled with *gall*, by Mark (xv. 23) *wine* mingled with *myrrh*. Now vinegar may be like wine, or rather wine like vinegar (cf. R.V.), but at all events gall is not myrrh; but in Hebrew gall and myrrh are written by exactly the same letters, varying only in the vowel dots. In the *Evangelium Hierosolymitanum*, which shows a dialect most like to that which Jesus must be supposed to have spoken, the word is in both cases written quite alike, namely *mira*.

Jerome was not in every respect the man we could have wished him to be; but the thanks of all who are interested in an historical understanding of Christendom are due to him that he enabled us fifteen hundred years after his time to recover these bits of the original Gospel.

EBERHARD NESTLE.

*THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE TALMUD : A
CRITICISM.*

PROFESSOR RENDEL HARRIS has done well to draw attention to the curious passage in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Chagiga*, 77*d*, which is supposed to contain a reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The passage has been quoted so often in discussions and commentaries on the genealogy in St. Luke¹ that it is worth while to examine it with some care. The commentators have no doubt derived their knowledge of the passage from Lightfoot's *Horaæ Hebraicæ*, on St. Luke iii. 23, which seems to be the first book of the kind to quote it; one and all they have taken his rendering on trust, and handed down the application he makes of it. The text of the passage is וַחֲמָא מְרִים בֶּרֶת עַל בְּצַלִּים; and Lightfoot renders: "And he saw Miriam, the daughter of Eli, among the shades," vocalising the last two words, עַלִּי בְּצַלִּים. Here, he says, we have a key to the puzzling *Heli* in the genealogy; and the revolting words in the sequel of the passage show how Jewish hostility regarded the Mother of our Lord. But the rendering which Lightfoot gives is quite impossible, as any Hebraist will see at once. The word צַל is used by Jewish writers, as it is in the Old Testament, for a *shadow*, *e.g.*, of a wall, a tree, an animal, a rock,² etc., but the plural צַלִּים never means *shades*, in the sense of "inhabitants of the under-world." The proper word for the latter in the Old Testament is, of course, הַרְפָּאִים, *the Refaim*,³ a word which does not occur in the Talmud in this sense. Lightfoot's rendering, then, upon which the application of the passage depends, cannot be permitted.

¹ To mention only two popular commentaries on St. Luke, Godet, *Saint Luc*, i., p. 251, Engl. edn., i., p. 202; Farrar, *St. Luke*, Camb. Bible, p. 378.

² *Aboda Zara*, 48*b*; *Pesachim*, 50*a*; Isa. xxxii. 2, etc.

³ *E.g.* Isa. xiv. 9, xxvi. 14; Job xxvi. 5, etc.

How are the words to be understood? Ask any competent Talmudist, and without hesitation he will pronounce them *עלי בצלים*, and translate *Miriam, the daughter of Alê-Betzalim*, i.e., *Leaves-of-Onions*.¹ This is no doubt a mock name, such as is often found in the Talmud, given to some individual on account of his peculiar tastes or characteristics. It is just possible that the name of Miriam's father was thus disguised in view of the offensive things said about her in the story; but even this is hardly likely. There is, then, nothing whatever in the name to do with the *Heli* of St. Luke iii. 23; and there is no doubt about the meaning of the word *betzalim*, which occurs frequently in the Talmud, as it does also in the Old Testament (Num. xi. 5), meaning *onions*. It is significant that Wünsche, the best modern authority on Talmudic illustrations of the Gospels, makes no mention of *Chagiga* 77d in his notes on St. Luke iii.²

Now comes Professor Rendel Harris with an ingenious suggestion: "The perplexing Betzalim is only a disguise (perhaps to avoid the censor of the Inquisition) of the words *Im tzalib, the mother of the Crucified*."³ But, unfortunately, the anagram, ingenious as it is, cannot be supported by Talmudic or Rabbinic usage. The word *tzalûb* is not found in the Talmud for the Crucified in the Christian sense; the Rabbinic writers use quite a different word of our Lord, viz. *talûy*, תלוי, *the suspended, hanged*.⁴ Hence

¹ So the Jewish commentators, e.g. David Fraenkel, Rabbi of Dessau (A.D. 1748), in his קרבן העדה; he says on the passage, בת אדם אחר ששמו עלי בצלים, *the daughter of a man whose name was Alê Betzalim*; given in the Zitomir edn. of Talm. Jerus., *Chagiga*, p. 17 (1866).

² In his *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talm. u. Midr.* (1878).

³ The form *tzalûb* if it = עֲלִיב is hardly correct; it should be *tzalûb*, עֲלִיב, e.g. *Jebamoth*, 120b. The form עֲלִיב is only found as a feminine, in the sense of *gallows*, e.g. Deut. xxi. 22 f. in Targ., or in Talm. *the act of hanging or crucifying*. Thus one of the letters of the anagram will not stand.

⁴ Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rabb.*, s.v. תלוי) quotes Aben Ezra on Gen.

the explanation of the passage which Professor Rendel Harris offers—*Miriam, the daughter of Eli, the mother of the crucified*—will not bear examination; the words עלי בצלים make up a fanciful proper name: Onion-Leaves.

There is one more point to be noticed. The passage is supposed to refer to "various punishments in hell." It cannot be said that this is distinctly stated, nor is it clearly borne out by the general drift of the context. The only mention of hell is in the saying of R. Jose ben Chanina (see the translation given, *THE EXPOSITOR*, p. 197), "The hinge of the gate of Gehenna was fixed in her ear"; and the tale goes on to say that Miriam will continue to be thus punished until Simeon b. Shetach comes, when "we shall take it out of her ear and fix it in his ear," because Simeon, being Nasi or Prince, did not fulfil his promise to put to death the eighty witches of Askelon. But nothing is said about this happening to the Nasi in Gehenna; it is merely a dream, not a Purgatorio.

Though it is well known that in these Talmudic stories one thing follows another without any real connection, but merely because a word or a name in one tale suggests something like it in another, yet it may throw light on the Miriam story to give the setting in which it occurs, a good deal compressed: "Talking of Simeon b. Shetach and Askelon reminds one of the two pious men who lived in that city. They were very intimate friends. In the course of time one of them died; but there was no fuss made over his death, whereas when Ben Maon, the tax-collector, died, the whole town stopped business to mourn for him. The

xxvii. 39, who says that a Christian priest told him that "the Emperor Constantine bore on his standard the figure of the Hanged" (צורה תלוי). The word תלוי here, it is interesting to notice, is not found in the ordinary printed texts: it has been expunged by the censors, as a reference to the MSS. of Aben Ezra proves; e.g. MSS. Pococke, 108 in the Bodleian Library. R. Bechai in his העין התלויה כי כן הם, commenting on Ps. lxxx. 14, says, עוברי התלוי.

survivor was lamenting the loss of his friend, when the dead man appeared to him in a dream, and astonished him by declaring, 'I committed one bad deed, for which I have been pardoned; Ben Maon, the tax-collector, committed one good deed, for which he has been rewarded,' etc., etc. Some time after this the pious survivor saw his dead comrade walking in gardens and parks and by springs of water, while he saw the tax-collector trying to drink by the bank of a river without being able to reach the water; and at the same time he saw Miriam, the daughter of Alê-Betzalim. R. Eliezer b. Jose says, 'suspended by the paps of her breasts,' . . ." and so on, as in the translation quoted by Professor Rendel Harris. This is not exactly a vision of Gehenna; it is rather a dream, in which certain dead persons appear in various circumstances.

Professor Rendel Harris makes the comment that "it is extremely improbable that the Talmud should make mention of special torments assigned to a woman who had made some error in the matter of fasting"; but it is a bold thing to say that any marvel is "extremely improbable" in these Haggadic stories. One is always coming across just what is least expected.

The other Talmudic passage which Professor Rendel Harris quotes is Talm. Bab., *Shabbath* 104b.¹ He gives some valuable illustrations from the Syrian commentators, and even from Ephrem Syrus himself, which show that Mary Magdalene was explained as the *plaiting woman*, and that she was confused with the Blessed Virgin. The best authorities seem to be agreed that this confusion is to be found in the Talmud, and in the passage from *Shabbath*.² Dr. Neubauer, for example, in *La Géographie*

¹ The reference is incorrectly quoted in *Expositio*, p. 193

² So Levy in *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v. שָׁבַת: The Tosefta on the passage rightly distinguishes the Miriam here from the other hair-plaiting Miriam who lived in the time of R. Bibl.

du Talmud (p. 14), believes that מרים מנדלא נשיא is the mother of Jesus, and that the name has arisen by confusion with Mary Magdalene. The name *Miriam Migdala Nasi* might mean Mary of the Tower of the Prince—*i.e.* Mary of Cæsarea; but Dr. Neubauer prefers to render it *Mary of Magdala*.¹ There is another passage, Talm. Bab. *Chagiga 4b*, where מרים מנדלא שער נשא can only mean *Miriam, the plaiter of women's hair*.² According to Laible's theory, this must be the same Miriam as in *Shabbath 104b*; but it is by no means clear that an intentional degradation of the mother of Jesus to the trade of a *coiffeuse* is to be found in either or both of these passages.

G. A. COOKE.

¹ Dr. Neubauer's caution, *ib.*, note 4, is worth quoting with reference to the whole discussion: "The Talmudic passages which directly concern Jesus should only be used with great reserve."

² In this same passage another מרים מנדלא is mentioned, and the name means *rearer of children* (רדקי), מנדלא being used in its other sense.

A STUDY IN HENO-CHRISTIANITY.

"The One in the many." "The many in the One."

How endless is the controversy which these phrases suggest, from the early days of Eleatic philosophers down to the right and left of the Hegelian schools! I do not propose to trace it in the history of metaphysic, nor do I suggest even that a little common sense might settle the age-long babble, if its representatives could have been persuaded to sit for a few hours at the same "round table." It has an application to Theology and to Christology which does require attention. Comparative Theology has made the question a burning one, when it styles certain forms of what some describe as monotheism as nothing better than flat and flagrant Polytheism, while others endeavour to mend matters by calling the same mental and religious stage by the name of Henotheism. India and Egypt, Asia-Minor and even Palestine have grasped at a unity of force behind varying names and changeful manifestations of the Deity which has justified co-religionists in claiming for some one element of their Pantheon the supremacy which others have assigned to another.

Thus the "*Saivas*" of India, in their endless modifications, have claimed for *Siva*—the destructive and disintegrating element in the universe—the majesty of the One Supreme Deity. Nor has this prevented others, say *Vaishnadas*, from cherishing the same immense, transcending, overwhelming majesty for *Vishnu*, before whose glory and beneficence all other existence, human or Divine, shrinks

away like a mote in the sunbeam. Numerous illustrations of the same fact of experience come to us from the land of the Vedas. Very similar phenomena may be asserted of the gods many and lords many of the Assyrian and the Semite. The worshipper again of Ra, Amun, Tôth, Phtah, Kneph, Osiris, may have often been in mystery or nescience as to which of the divine elements filled his imagination or religious sense, when he blended several into some one function of reverence and dealt with *it* as supreme, not denying to other worshippers in the sacred land of Nile a similar privilege. To the stern monotheist, for whom there can be one and one only God and all beside are nihilities, to him the plurality cannot abide in the Unity, nor the many in the One, nor the One in the many. Jehovah, the "*I am that I am*," cannot share His eternal throne in the estimate of His worshippers with any supreme Baal (master or Lord of Nature), any Molech (king, overlord of spirits or bodies), yet doubtless Baal and Molech had those who attributed supremacy and absolute Deity to themselves. Theism tends to plurality when its generalizations are hasty or insufficient and are coloured by local influences or tribal peculiarities, or when the emotion of worship is swayed merely by venerable tradition, special circumstance, or personal equation.

Henotheism is hardly possible until philosophy has bestowed or breathed over some hoary superstition a new and foreign catholicity, and taught a variety of worshippers something of the equal rights of men to think from the centre of their consciousness outwards. The more we ponder and exercise the sense of God which belongs to us, the more unique does it become. There cannot be in the nature of words, and in their relation to thought, more than one absolute. The same one and eternal substance may be robed in many attributes, but it is identical wherever it comes within the range of cognition. A strenuous

realization of the aloneness and fulness and sufficiency of the only God can alone satisfy the conditions of the problem of theism. A half-instructed thinker may say that Brahminism is the best form of religion among Hindu Aryans, Mohammedanism the simplest form of it for the Arab, and may imagine that Christian Theism is the truth for the West; but any deeper insight into the complex phenomena reveals the superficial character of such hasty generalization. There is but one God, or no God. Truth is one or it is inaccessible. Eternal Righteousness cannot break itself into fragments, or adapt itself to the various conceits or predilections of men. The solidarity of men is ever forging its way out of the delusion that degrees of longitude can divide eternal right from absolute wrong.

He who is master of all must be the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. He is above all and within all. True it is that the myriad-coloured bow may refract the infinite fulness of the one undivided beam. The red and violet ray must equally proceed from the white one. They are conditions of each other, and they with all their congenital glories are equally conditioned by that of which they are only the partial manifestation. It is conceivable that one man might argue that "*red*" is the one radiance in which he can see, and is the only and supreme mystery of light. But another might use equivalent language about the "*violet*," and so on through all the gamut of colour; but they would be each one in melancholy illusion, and have need to learn the first principles upon which the entire mystery turns.

I am not intending to press the matter into the regions of the philosophy of religion generally, but to call attention to an aspect of Christology or Christianity upon which the absolute One, in its multiplicity of partially appreciated forms, throws needed illumination. The various and variegated forms of Christianity are at times puzzling and

bewildering, both when we look down the ages of Christianity or cast our glances through the various provinces of Christendom. The fundamental conception of the one Christ seems hopelessly divided, and it may be lost to the view of those who profess and call themselves Christians. So far from being led by partial vision into unity of faith, or the bond of peace, or even from aiming at the same reality and ideal of righteousness, they differ as the scattered rays of the sunbeam do in the expanded spectrum of the laboratory. A question arises whether the several methods of appreciating the one Christ should be allowed to be for each the sufficient and adequate presentation of the sublime reality; or whether its advocates should be pressed to forsake their own essentially limited and one-sided grasp of the supreme glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. In apostolic times some entertained so high an estimate of the *Heavenly* Christ, that they had the audacity, even in the Christian assembly, to say that *Jesus* was "accursed," and believe that they were doing God service. They encountered the fierce condemnation of the Apostle Paul, who grasped with supernatural energy the Unity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and burst out with the tremendous counterblast: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed (anathema)." Complacent Henotheism, which tried to be content with half-truths and treat them as the whole, never justified itself to the Apostle. "Is Christ Divided?" was his indignant repudiation of a spurious catholicity. If we are to comprehend the height, depth, length, and breadth of the Christ and His love, we have to do it *with all saints*. Doubtless there are some who are so impressed with the infinite uplifting of the glory of that "name above every name," which is transferred to the Incarnate God, that this aspect of the blessed One seems to be the whole that is knowable and the all of the Christ. One "saint" has been so deeply overawed by the *breadth* of the love of

Christ—His love to every creature, to every nationality, to every idiosyncrasy, to men of every antecedent, “to the uttermost,” to all that come—that he will have no other Christ. Contemplation of the “*height*” is supposed by him to suggest sentimentality and enthusiasm; contemplation of the “*depth*” to savour of useless theology or worrying metaphysic, while deep pondering of the “*length*” involves the measures of eternity—the yesterday and to-morrow and for ever from which some in these days recoil with weariness and disgust. To each of these four saints, Henotheists or Heno-Christists, Paul makes brave appeal, and he desires something for each of them. He would have them each comprehend with ALL saints the height, depth, length, as well as breadth of that which surpasses knowledge.

The idea of St. Paul needs further attention, and will suffer fresh illustration.

We must admit that every element of the glory of Christ is so absolute, so perfect in itself, so absorbing, so engrossing, so beneficent, that if it beams or glances on the soul, it conveys the impression—which may turn out to be no other than an illusion—that it is the *whole* revelation, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. This illusion may throw some light upon the intense divergencies of Christian experience, the strange contrarieties of Christian practice, the antagonisms of Christian conduct, and when regarded from a higher point of view may be itself interpreted as a part of an undivided whole, one element only of a Unity which threatened to monopolize and disparage every other. In illustration of this, let us ponder a few of these partial estimates of the one Christ, which in the first instance issued like a beam of heavenly light from the face of Jesus Christ, and has seemed to the worshipper as nothing less than the whole of His glory.

I.

ANCIENT AND MODERN ASCETICISM.

Who can fail to be arrested by the words of Jesus which call upon His followers to bear His cross, to endure its shame, to take the cross daily, to hate and break every bond of personal affection, to refuse to physical desires the most elementary solace of food and water and clothing, to cast self away absolutely and finally, to bear cruel injury, and in lieu of self-assertion provide fresh provocation to insult, to ignore "to-morrow," to be absorbed with heavenly contemplations, to love enemies and bless persecutors, to ignore health and even to court absolute poverty, to sell all and give to the poor even "great possessions"; to anticipate torture, imprisonment, malignity, cruel and early martyrdom with imperturbable calm and radiant smile? Doubtless this kind of highest life secured the approval of Eastern asceticism, of Essenic self-annihilation and Stoical superiority to suffering, strong emotion or death. Philosophical speculations were ready to accept this ideal and to justify the dictates of the Prophet of Nazareth. There has been enough in the turbulent flesh of man, in the way of the world, in the imminence of death, in the fear of the future, in the immensity of the contrast between "the light affliction that is for a moment," and the terrors of eternity; between the world as it is, and the torments of hell, to develop this teaching into all the anxieties and combinations of Eastern monachism and pillar-sainthood, into the raptures and flagellations of the monks of the Thebaïd, into the self-abolition of the Benedictine and the rule of St. Augustine, into all the astounding feats of Cistercian and Franciscan, Carmelite and Jesuit. The intense earnestness with which "the religious life" has been pursued confounds the Epicureanism of contemporary Christianity and has

made in its long history numberless inroads and victories on the complacency and smug comforts, to say nothing of the extravagant luxuries of the Church. There is a side and aspect of Christ's own teaching which may apparently justify the extremity of self-humiliation, self-mutilation, and self-abolition. Doubtless the very ideal of the Carmelite may be a faint adumbration of the mystic self-abandoned Holiest One whose meat it was to do the heavenly will, who spent whole nights in prayer, who refused in extreme agony the narcotic wormwood and gall, who blessed His betrayers and murderers, who denied Himself absolutely for the saving and peace of the publican and sinner. The enormous place which this form of the divine and religious life has assumed in the aggregate of Christendom staggers the self-complacency and self-gratification of the major part of the living Church. Were they right who glorified the hectic flush on the emaciated cheek as the genuine image and only sufficient mirror of the blessed life? Is the Christ the Man of Sorrows? and is there nothing more to say concerning Him? and must the life of the Lord as lived among men and within man be an unswerving acceptance of such ideal? Is this the Christ, and is there no other? Is there no Saviour, no Healer, no Comrade or Brother of all, no Vanquisher of Hell, no Master or King of men, no Lamb in the midst of the throne? The Heno-Christian hypothesis claims the ascetic Christ as the supreme, the one, the only Christ for its school, the one Christ to preach, or to defend, the one power to subdue the world with, the veritable Christ who is alone worthy of the name. When one follows the history of what the ascetic, monastic, self-crucified Man has done for the world, what temples He has built of lonely abnegation and of gorgeous splendour, what tremendous tasks He has set Himself to do, what deeds of surpassing valour and heroic martyrdom He has achieved, we do not wonder that whole generations

of Christians have passed away with no further idea of the one Christ than that of the archetypal Monk.

But while this has been the case, yet almost *pari passu* with it we have observed the intense activity of those saints who have sought with absorbing eagerness to realize the depth and height of His real Being, who have endeavoured to sound intellectually the nature and fulness of the Deity that was manifested in the Incarnate Word, and we have been compelled to watch through fifteen hundred years and more the rapturous and daring struggle to reduce it to the form of human thought.

II.

THEOLOGICAL ORTHODOXY.

Not only great thinkers of East and West have laboured at this colossal task, influenced by the philosophical systems dominant in Asia Minor, Alexandria, and Rome, but vast populations have been sensibly moved—before and since the great rent between Latin and Greek thought, before and since the signal severance of hearts in the ecclesiastic revolutions of the sixteenth century—to have and to hold the truth about Him, who is the Head over all things and the King of Glory. The words spoken by the Lord and His apostles are, and have always been, the sources and stimuli of this imperious discipline of the human understanding. He said things of such tremendous import about Himself, about His relation to the Father, concerning His relation to men, His power to save, His authority to exercise judgment and to extend mercy, that the conviction took magic hold of Greek and Jew, Oriental and Roman, that whatever they meant by the terms GOD, ALMIGHTY, and ETERNAL, they felt to be recapitulated in Him, and yet that there could only be one God in the depth of His being. Consequently how to adjust this overwhelming thought with

this genuine humanity, became a problem which must be propounded, if not solved. To a large extent the effort to state this synthesis arose out of the one-sided and hasty philosophical solutions which were set forth eagerly by acute and often well-meaning men. The Church and conscience of Christendom often, with equal passion, haste, and condemnation, repudiated the successive solutions that had been offered. The phrases used were intended to safeguard and to state a few fundamental facts concerning the nature and fulness of God, and the participation in that very nature and fulness of Him who was the Christ of God, and at the same time to put into verbal form coincident belief in the perfect and complete humanity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Supposed accuracy of *idea* assumed a towering importance. If any trifled with a solitary word which had received the sanction of the Christian CHURCH or Christian consciousness, it was mortal sin. The moral and disciplinary side of Christ's teaching was treated as of less essential value than a knowledge of what He was in Himself. The Nestorian and Monophysite solutions of the problem offer a striking illustration of the peril of intruding mere metaphysical hypotheses into the realm of definitely accepted facts, the uselessness of so-called explanations of the Incarnation or the Person of the Living Lord. Those who held to the fundamental pre-credal facts out of which the age-long speculations emerged felt convinced that Nestorians had divided Christ into two, a human and Divine Being, and that the vinculum between the two was so elastic as to lose all hold upon thought and to fail in the great extremity, evaporating, as it often does still, into a superficial Unitarianism which loses all hold upon the Incarnation. While on the other hand, the Monophysite hypothesis led virtually to an admission of a polytheistic *tertium quid*, neither God nor man, not Divine enough to save, nor human enough either to sympathise with man, or to understand the

extremity of human need, sorrow, or peril. "Orthodoxy,"—whether Nestorian or Monophysite,—still more Catholic Orthodoxy as the conclusive deliverance of a majority, which rejected both hypotheses, was on all sides alike treated as the highest and best and the most essential feature of Christianity itself. Neither asceticism was supposed to wipe out the stain of blasphemous division of the Christ, nor would good works nor saintly life atone for a Pantheistic hypothesis or the polytheistic creation of a new Divinity, who was after all neither Son of God in His fulness, nor Son of Man in His claim to heal, to guide, or to save.

Similar intensity of conviction as to the indispensable value of ideas, which were put openly, furtively, and sometimes unconsciously, into the place of absolutely accredited facts of Divine manifestation, prevailed throughout the scholastic period, throughout the struggles of the Reformation, of the Catholic Reaction, of the Puritan, Anglican, and Evangelical Revivals of later centuries. All sections of the Church have been bewildered by the sacro-sanctity of partially apprehended words, and have yielded the most abject deference to verbal terms as though they were things indubitable, essential, and indispensable to the reality of Christianity. We are far from underestimating the importance of these intellectual struggles. We are so made that we cannot avoid thinking out problems that arise in these regions of meditation, pushing them to their consummation, sometimes to their bitter end. The religious element of our common nature continually supplies pabulum to our reason, and thesis can only exist in the presence of antithesis. The passion of penitence, the inward yearning after the unseen and the eternal, and the desire for communion and reconciliation with the Highest, falls back with pathetic constancy on the attempt to define the undefinable. The definition becomes the veil of the most holy

adytum and *sacra* of the faith. In the face of this absorbing conviction, this reverence for the function of reason, it is impossible not to trace a forecast of an ultimate triumph of the Catholic understanding of the human race on these and other departments of its faith in the unseen and eternal. Nevertheless, the whole history of dogma, *per se*, is a species of Heno-Christism, substituting a beam from the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ for the full-orbed majesty of the unclouded Sun of Righteousness. Its eager advocates, whether Catholic or Puritan, are supposed to be at a sorry discount, while to their self-consciousness they are heirs of the greatest inheritance, seers of the beatific vision. It may be a victory of Christ when the dogmatist finds that there is much which he needs to learn.

III.

THE ETHICAL AND HUMAN ASPECTS OF THE CHRIST.

At many epochs in the history of Christianity, in the literature of Europe, and in the practical religious life of the Church, the teaching of a most vigorous section of society has treated the service of MAN as positive antithesis to the worship of God. The Brotherhood of man (apart even from the Fatherhood of God), the equality of man in the eye of the law, the interchange of charity, the substitution of activity (irrespective of motive) for faith or inward righteousness, is made identical with Christianity; while self-sacrifice for the good of the whole, "the enthusiasm of humanity," is openly declared, even now, to be the religion of Jesus. The effect of the new and higher standard of life is said to be the end of all religious experience. Let him be Mohammedan or Romanist, Quaker or Seventh-day Baptist, Jesuit or Socinian, if he succours the wretched and tends the dying body—and apparently ignores his faith, if he will only keep silence about the supra-phenomenal realities, not obtrude his metaphysics nor suggest

that there is any underlying and universal mystery behind the activity or example of "the Carpenter of Nazareth," or any significance in His death beyond the debt of nature, he is for many Neo-Christians the true and only possible Christian. The waves of the vibrations, made by the introduction of this great altruistic propaganda, derived, as we admit from the mighty word and work of the Divine Lord, have lapped round the bulwarks of all our organizations, and the issue is for the present far more conspicuous than many who have come under the fashion or the spell of it readily admit. We see it in our literature, our fiction, our social compacts, our new ritual of flowers and music, of magic lanterns and concerts in lieu of Holy Communion and importunate prayer. We discern the signs of it in the perpetual iteration of the purely *human* aspects of the gospel, in ominous silence about sin or forgiveness or judgment or mercy, great insistence upon the material, the hygienic, the philanthropic tones of the message of the Master, and a dead hush about the world to come, or the day for which all other days were made. This is only Heno-Christianity, a one-sided acceptance of a part for the whole, a prophesying but in part, a foretaste or a forecast, it may be, of that universal victory of the new man over the old man, when the true dogmatic shall establish itself in the highest regions of intellect, and universal love will emerge from the unclouded light. When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away!

IV.

RELIGIOSITY,

As Evincing in the Crusading Heno-Christism.

Could there have been any solitary ray of the Divine spectrum in that astounding movement which precipitated a considerable proportion of the populations of the West of

Europe upon the Eastern Empire, and the sacred places of the patriarchal and Christian faith? When we trace some of the forces which produced it, we are astounded at the terrible mixture of motive, the blending of its abnormal religiosity with almost unmentionable depravity, its frenzied excitement of religious and quasi-Christian emotion with selfish greed, murderous passion, and fiendish slaughter. We almost hesitate to admit any, even the most attenuated and perverted element or thread of Christianity in the movement as a whole.

Still, when we remember the passion for pilgrimage, the yearnings of millions of so-called Christians to kneel and pray where the body of the Lord lay in the tomb, when we recall the lofty faith and fervent devotion of such saints as Urban, such mighty potentates as Innocent III., of such teachers and prophetic spirits as St. Bernard of Clairvaux, such martyr-like consecration as that of St. Louis, King of France; when we recall the hold which the absorbing idea had upon the free spirit and daring heroism and independence of Frederick II., we recognise the fact that it represented for nearly two hundred years the most thrilling conviction of Western Christendom in the fact of the historic reality of a veritable incarnation of the Eternal God, in what was therefore thought of as holy land and holy place; we recognise the fact that hundreds of thousands submitted to untold privation and bitter death with the bare hope of pressing with their own feet the places hallowed by the bleeding feet of the God-man, even though the very same men who came to this awful, weird function, came, as Godfrey, the hero of the first crusade, through incredible slaughter and inexplicable cruelty towards his conquered foes, to indulge in this tremendous luxury of religious emotion. Though every conceivable act of folly and greed, treachery and cruelty had stained the course of their progress, there is no explanation of the tremendous force which goaded the remnant forward to their

goal, but a supra-natural conviction in the most stupendous event that had, as they believed, occurred in the history of the world. The indiscipline of even cultivated intelligence so perverted the one truth that it was able to obliterate and supersede all moral distinctions, and, by its omnipotent energy, expiate and absolve all sin. The annals of Buddhism and of Islam are replete with wonderful stories of heroism in pilgrimage to the sacred places of their faith, and reveal the grip which these brethren of ours have submitted to when the powers of the Unseen fell upon them. Both Buddhist pilgrimage and Persian passion-plays have displayed many of the like emotions, to say nothing of the Hindu festivals of multitudes hungry for the solution of the mystery of life, or Japanese yearning after what Amitabha-Buddha could do for them; yet there is an explicitness, intensity, and violence of contrast between the aims and plans of the crusading armies which transcends any other analogous process in the history of religion.

The corruption of the best and noblest form of transcendental conviction may, if you will, reveal the worst aspects of human delusion; but it is another proof that let human nature grasp one truth, or deeply feel one beam from the supernal light, it is all but irresistibly impelled to believe, as crusading Europe did, that this one idea and method of religious observance was the whole of the Christian revelation, the supreme and final claim made at the time by the Divine will upon human obedience. This is only one of a group of corresponding phenomena which I have ventured to call Heno-Christism. Consider—

V.

THE CRUSHING SENSE OF UNPARDONED SIN.

Here I must put into relation with one another many thrilling moments in the history of mankind. Some of

these phenomena may be seen in Oriental religions, in Greek mysteries, in Egyptian purifications, and certain fearful lookings for of eternal judgment and retribution, and they show the resistless force and even excruciating anguish with which men in every age have waked up to the sense of estrangement from, and irreconcilable enmity to, God, to the absolute Lord of all. We must admit that there have been periods of reaction and of indifference and of materialistic pause in the great agony, but we can never be sure that any day will pass when the emotion of unforgiven sin may not sweep the world, as when the flagellants howled their piteous cry for mercy to the impassive and unbending laws of nature, and to the irresistible Power of life and death. The overwhelming sense of collision with God throws light upon the self-immolation of the *fakir*, and the austerities of the mediæval monk; but we see the signs of it in the efforts of Luther to free himself from the burden of his sin, and in the entire career of Bunyan's Puritan Christian under the beetling brow of Sinai, and in the valley of the shadow of death. At the present hour there are countless sufferers from the intolerable load of unavailing grief, who, though they see some glimmering of hope, regard their experience as the most essential and indispensable form of the Divine life at its commencement, and preach a resemblance to their bitter trouble as the one way to the peace or hope of the gospel. They have seen the lightning gleam glancing from the cloud of the Divine wrath against sin. They have apprehended the terrible significance of the words of Jesus, and of the cross where He, the Incarnate God, gave Himself up as the Ransom, the Sacrifice for sin, and the Lamb of God; and this one thought dominates every other, and this, as in many celebrated revivals, is regarded not only as truth, but practically as the whole truth, as not only the Christ, but the only Christ for sinful men, and all that is to be known of the

height and depth, the length and breadth of the love and glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Like the ethical or the ascetic, the philanthropic or dogmatic Christian, these troubled ones in unappeased fear of the Almighty know but in part and prophesy but in part.

Several of these peculiar phases of Heno-Christianity are intensified by the strange and overboding sense of man's life after death, which has continued to overcast his life that now is. Scientific discovery has not given one atom of relief to his foreboding. It has decupled our physical comforts, our locomotion, our embargo upon nature, our facilities of action, but has left us with a sense of pitiful unrest, and we are plunging in a deeper and more fathomless abyss of unsatisfied speculation. The niceties of mediæval notions of the incidence of retribution for every species of moral defect or undisciplined habit, and the specified anguish befalling the casual lapse or the momentary assault of irresistible temptation, are terribly portrayed by the pen of Dante. In the *Divine Comedy* there is the crystallization in burning gems of the emotions of mediæval theologians. But the realistic imagination of Bunyan, the theological outlook of the New England divines, the scientific dreams of Swedenborg, the current vivid realization of the Roman purgatory and hell, are as ready for an outburst to-day as during "the Black Death." No philosophy, nor science, nor *laissez faire*, can extinguish the smouldering fire of this most imposing supply and occasion of religious excitement and Christian experience. In innumerable minds and hearts and groups of sensitive spirits such a realization of the unseen and eternal is thought of as the cardinal and central idea of Christianity. Nor is the peculiarity lessened by the endeavour of the more robust to lessen the unrest and pain by the assurance that we commence the eternal life in the conscious knowledge of the only true God, and that there is no deeper hell than the

alienation of the heart from God, and than in absorption in its own self-satisfaction. For who can forget that the grim precipice of death, on the ledges of which we are clinging from the fear of what may follow is not reduced by a hair-breadth? A stupendous change haunts us still to be grappled with, let the rose-water moralists say what they list. This pungent atmosphere of the soul survives every attempt to disperse it, and it contains within itself all the *Summa Theologiæ* of Aquinas, all the *Commedia* of Dante, all the revival fires of the Puritanic conscience of Milton, or the ordered imagination of either Böhme or Wesley or Hervey or Whitfield. Entertainments and picnics, and days of sea air or mountain glory, and all the abundant charity of the modern Zeit-Geist, cannot quench the sense of the infinite which surges in every bosom. To call it a Heno-Christianity does not palliate nor explain its overweening potency. Nevertheless, even the sense of unforgiven sin and absolute guilt, and the certainty of an eternity for its development, is not the whole of the Christian idea, and they lead us to—

VI.

THE METHODS AND SEAL OF RECONCILIATION WITH GOD.

There are two chief divisions of this solution of a problem of measureless significance. To use the now time-honoured terms, there is the objective and subjective—the *objective* the largely material, humanly administered, sacramentally manipulated solace to the bruised and throbbing heart, some objective definite thing which requires to be done, touched, eaten, drunk, under the spell of words uttered on rightly constituted authority by men of a certain guild. This holds the field from the mountains of Armenia to the Pacific seaboard of America, from the Kremlin to the Western Indies, from the intoxicating atmosphere of the Vatican to the London drawing-room or

the numerous shadows of the English village. Perhaps no amount of Biblical exegesis, or hard-faced theology or strong-fisted logic, no heraldic proclamation of the sovereignty of common sense, will for the present break the spell which tradition and speculation, fashion and intense human need have woven. The veil of the covering is more or less cast over all nations; and splendid deeds of self-sacrifice and martyrdom have been wrought by those who have persuaded themselves that their hands are necessary or relatively indispensable to the communication of the Divine assurance of pardon and eternal life. The mystery of this human self-sufficiency casts a perilous glamour over the other elements of the faith or obedience of Christ, and often betrays its unreal origin by confounding this one element of the gospel with the essence if not with the whole of it. This commanding importance given to an accident renders the entire representation of the sacramental and sacerdotal theory as purely *Heno-Christian*. Moreover it is not truly Catholic, it is one part only of a reality which needs its antithesis and its true complement to have any rational meaning. And there is the other—the *subjective*—method of receiving the heavenly solace, which after all is the only satisfactory explanation of the sacramental hypothesis, and is in fact superior to and independent of the human channel, or of any material charm by which Divine grace is mediated to the soul. The subjective method turns on the thought of the indwelling, the immanence, the inworking of the Divine in all the forces of nature, in all laws of mind and heart, and that all the broken heart needs is that attitude towards God which we call “faith!” This subjective condition is all-sufficient for “the power which worketh in us” to bring us into full submission to the awful righteousness, the infinite love, the absolute goodness of the Living Father as revealed in the sacrifice of the incarnate Word. This subjective method

and seal of redemption and of deliverance affects all that the most exalted and dignified Priest essays to accomplish. The light breaks, the peace that passes all understanding fills the heart and mind. The mystery of God is finished, the secret of the Lord is whispered, the hope of eternal life turns the guilty fear into radiant anticipation. All the perfections, all the fulness of God herein are forth-shadowed. The *Imitatio Christi* becomes a possibility, sorrow is gilded, death is vanquished, all the force of natural emotion is enlisted under the dominion of the sanctified, quickened and tender conscience. So heart-filling is this rapture that though more comprehensive than any one of the partial aspects of Christianity to which I have referred, yet if it presumes to lay down an exclusive definition of the whole of the faith of Christ, it risks the grand element of the solidarity of men, the mutual interdependence of man with man, the value of the personal effort of one for the saving of another, the part which the family and the community do as a matter of fact effectuate in the spiritual life of man, and in the realization of the Christian idea.

Even the spiritual, or hyper-spiritual, atmosphere in many a school of mystics has stifled the practical life of men lost in spiritual contemplation and in the full realization of the Divine glory, so that we must, even here, warn against the weakness of Heno-Christian emotions, and the peril of substituting the part for the whole. Even the Quietist *must* learn to cease from the flesh, must use his reason and his understanding to grasp the truths that excite faith and the symbolism which feeds it, and be nourished by the love which never faileth.

VII.

The last illustration to which we refer is the exceptional importance given to the

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

The majority of Christian believers, alas! say of those who do not share *their* estimate of the Divine Society, "We forbid them, seeing that they follow not with us."

Non-participation in one community is abandonment of untold millions at the best to uncovenanted mercies. Rome regards indifference to or repudiation of the Holy See as an almost incredible and unbridled audacity. To be separated from this unity of organization is to be separated from Christ. Here, extreme ascetic *régime*, orthodox faith, conformity with all the great creeds, enthusiastic consecration to the well-being of mankind, the deepest sense of sin, the uttermost repentance, the most extreme religiosity, the holiest life, are all of no effect, if the subject of all these characteristics does not humble itself before the Papal infallibility. Therefore, to an untold number, the community is more than the Deity, more than the Christ, more than the Holy Ghost that worketh in us. In this respect the perversion of the grand reality of personal surrender to God in Christ is an extreme form of the Heno-Christianity which has confounded a small part of the Christ with the height and depth, the length and breadth of that which passeth knowledge. Nor must it be forgotten that in many quarters the Anglican community is as exclusive and purblind in its outlook as Rome itself. Nay more than that, there are sections of the Greek Church as utterly exclusive as the Holy Orthodox and Catholic Church itself; and many cliques and corners of Christendom, which lay such emphasis on the mode of administering an ordinance, on the rigidity of discipline, on the supposed just interpretation of unfulfilled prophecies, on the nature and principle of Church music and the like, that they ought not on this ground to cast a stone at the Vatican. Such prejudice

never reached a higher point of infallibility than when the Scotch pair who had persuaded each other that they constituted between them the entire Church of the living God were not "sure" of each other!

When will the sign of the Son of Man be seen, when will the unity of the Church, the triumph of "the power that worketh in us," be completed? When will He see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied? Must it not be when no satisfaction will be felt in these one-sided and partial views of that which passeth knowledge, when the scattered beams of the glory of the Christ are recombined into that one holy, uncompounded and absolutely blended ray of unsullied lustre, of which God said, "Let there be light, and there was light"?

This meditation may assist some in the various sections of the spiritual Church to ask themselves whether the one colour of the million-hued bow of promise in which they find so much is the whole of the one living Christ, and whether they have not to learn much of truth, of discipline, of reverence and activity, of life and love, from those who are analogously led to believe that they too have, alas! the entire glory of God beaming through another chink of the curtain which conceals the Holiest of all.

HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS.

THE PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS.

IN this parable Jesus calls Himself the Bridegroom. In so doing He indicates the point of view from which the parable must be regarded. For the thought of the Bridegroom suggests that of the bride. The thought of the bride fixes our attention on *the holy city, new Jerusalem*.¹ And this last name reveals the relation in which the parable stands to the rest of the great discourse of which it forms a part. Our Lord has just associated the "consummation of the age" and His own "coming" with the destruction of Jerusalem. That awful catastrophe would be the death-struggle of the old world. But resurrection, not annihilation, would be the issue of a God-given existence. The overthrow of the temple and of the walls of the city would be the rolling away of the stone from the mouth of a sepulchre. And from the tomb of Israel's buried hopes would emerge a glorified, spiritual kingdom, *the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem*,² *the wife of the Lamb*.³ The precise day and hour of that great crisis would be fore-known by none save the Father only.⁴ Yet all things would be accomplished before that generation passed away,⁵ and the Bridegroom would come to claim His bride. But would all those who were left till that hour of midnight meet Him when He came? Would they all recognise His "presence" in the darkness? Would they all go in with Him to the marriage-feast which was to mark the beginning of a new age? The Parable of the Ten Virgins contains the answer.

It is significant that the actors in this parable are women, whilst in the complementary parable of the Talents they are men. This contrast between the man-side and the woman-

¹ Rev. xxi. 2.

² Heb. xii. 22.

³ Rev. xxi. 9.

⁴ Matt. xxiv. 36.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 34.

side of human nature and life pervades the two parables, and appears to have a distinctive purpose. In the parable of the Talents the interval before Christ's coming is regarded as one of labour; and the disciples are warned that, if they are to meet with their Lord's approval, they must fulfil the true service of men by working. In this parable the interval is evidently regarded as one of *waiting*, for it is recorded of the whole company of virgins, without hint of blame, that *while the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept*; and the disciples are taught that, if they are to welcome the Bridegroom when He comes, they must fulfil the true service of women by *watching*.¹ There the diligent servant is rewarded, and the slothful condemned; here, the judgment is the outcome of the exercise or the neglect of woman's distinctive faculty of thoughtfulness. *Five of them were foolish, and five were wise*. There the question is one of the outer life; here, of the inner life. There, of vigorous energy; here, of quiet contemplativeness. There, of action; here, of insight. If we think it necessary to lay stress on the fact that the actors are described as virgins, and not merely as women, we may say that the thoughtful side of human nature is here regarded by itself, before it enters into union with active energy and bears fruit in loving deeds.

That the right use of the contemplative faculty is the subject of the parable is confirmed by the fact that all the virgins *took their lamps*. Much has been written about the meaning of the lamps, some contending that they imply faith, others good works, others Christian or Church-profession. We shall be spared the trouble of deciding between these conflicting, and more or less arbitrary, interpretations, if we call to mind the words of our Lord: *The lamp of thy body is thine eye*.² The lamp is that power of spiritual vision with which the thoughtful side of every human be-

¹ Matt. xxv. 13.

² Luke xi. 34, R.V.

ing is provided. It is the faculty of insight; the power of seeing through the outward appearance, of looking beyond the things which are seen at the things which are not seen, of beholding the eternal behind the temporal.

This faculty is given to every man. It is indeed distinctive of a true woman, but it is not exclusively her possession. It is exemplified in the mother of the Lord, in whom it must have grown clearer as she watched her Son, kept His sayings, and pondered them in her heart.¹ It is conspicuous in Mary, the sister of Lazarus, whose eyes were "homes of silent prayer"; who grew more keen-sighted through sitting at the Lord's feet, listening to His words; and at last, with "divine intuition" of the coming passion, anointed the Conqueror of death at the supper at Bethany. But it is also characteristic of the man whom Jesus loved, who with quick, sympathetic insight was the first to recognise the Risen Lord by the Sea of Tiberias. This power of insight is given in some degree to every man. But its effectiveness depends on the way in which it is used. *Five of (the virgins) were foolish, and five were wise.* Five of them trusted to what little oil there happened to be in their lamps already. Five were thoughtful enough to obtain a further supply, and to take *oil in their vessels with their lamps*. When we remember that oil is constantly used as a symbol of God's Spirit, and that the purpose for which it is here employed is that of lighting, we can have little doubt as to its meaning. It signifies the illuminating energy of the Spirit of truth. If the faculty of spiritual insight is not fed with this enlightening influence, it is but an unlit lamp, casting no beams into the eternal world. But constantly supplied therewith, it may become so luminous that it can search the hearts of men, can discover the divine meaning that underlies the changing circumstances of daily life, and can discern the eternal purpose

¹ Luke ii. 19, 51.

that is being gradually accomplished behind the events of human history.

It is obvious that this power which quickens the spiritual vision cannot be imparted by one man to another at a moment's notice. Such seems to be the meaning of the next point in the parable. The wise virgins are compelled to refuse the request of the foolish to give them oil. *Peradventure there will not be enough for us and you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.* No man can receive more illuminating energy than is requisite for his own use. Each man must win what he needs by his own efforts. He must acquire it by asking, seeking, knocking; by much sitting at the Lord's feet; by constantly yielding himself to the guidance of the Spirit of truth; by "persistently dwelling in the secret place of the Most High, and thus entering into the hidden things of life from the centre whence the issues of them diverge."¹

Such was the lesson which Jesus taught His disciples ere He left them. All of them must use the power of insight with which they were endowed. But it must be quickened with that illuminating influence which the Spirit of truth was ready to bestow on them abundantly. *He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you.*² . . . *He shall guide you into all the truth: . . . and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come.*³ They must use the interval before their Lord's coming, not only as a time for working, but also as an opportunity for watching in quiet contemplation. Surrendering themselves to the Spirit's guidance, they would gain a clearer perception of the real significance of Christ's words and works, interpreted in actual life.

¹ The quotation is an extract from a striking description by Mr. George MacDonald of the marvellous power of insight acquired by one of the characters in *Paul Faber* (ch. xxxix. p. 369). Though occurring in a work of fiction, it seems to be a transcript from life.

² John xiv. 26.

³ John xvi. 13.

Taught to perceive the eternal behind the temporal, they would be quick to notice that through their own tribulations and persecutions chains were being forged to draw them nearer to their Lord; and they would see the hands of the living God at work in the wars of nations, in earthquakes, famines, and pestilences. Thus learning to behold with apocalyptic vision those invisible, heaven-directed movements which are the very soul of history, they would be ready when the great crisis came. Their discerning eyes would pierce through the darkness and recognise the Bridegroom's presence, and with glowing hearts they would enter with Him into the glory of a new age and a heavenly kingdom.

But how different the end would be, should they be foolish enough not to seek for clearer light! If, trusting to what little power of perception they possessed already, they should presume to decide for themselves the meaning and the mode of Christ's coming, they would be overwhelmed with grievous disappointment. The Bridegroom's verdict, *I know you not*, would assert decisively that in their thoughts and hopes He could recognise nothing in sympathy with His own, and would pronounce them incapable of rejoicing in the brightness of that great day of the Lord. The crash of Jerusalem's fall would shatter their earthly-minded expectations concerning the coming kingdom, and for them the crisis would issue in nought but disaster and utter darkness.

Of the disciples who heard this parable spoken, one stands out pre-eminently as the typical *wise virgin*.¹ The Apostle St. John, though by no means lacking in masculine energy, was characterized, as we have seen already, by his quiet contemplativeness and sympathetic insight. It was of this beloved disciple that Jesus said: *If I will that he*

¹ Outside the ranks of the Apostles, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is conspicuous as another striking instance.

*tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*¹ To him especially was assigned "the service of waiting, . . . the service of thought, . . . the service of inward meditation directed to the vision of Christ's coming."² We are told scarcely anything about his active work. The interval that elapsed before the revelation of the Bridegroom was for him one of silent contemplation, in which he sought earnestly for clearer light. Gradually led by the Spirit to a point of view from which the world could be regarded in its true aspect, he was enabled to write to the Churches an inspired history of God's government of the nations during the last few years before the consummation of the age; to declare to them under the form of sign and symbol the true meaning of the awful calamities which marked the end of the old world; to direct their vision to the new Jerusalem which he had seen appearing *as a bride adorned for her husband*;³ to bear witness of the revelation of the Lamb, and of the joy of them that were *bidden to the marriage-supper*.⁴ Then entering in spirit with the Bridegroom into the clear light of the heavenly world, he received power to give to men the last and greatest Gospel,—a Gospel, as has been well said, not of the past, or the present, or the future, but of the eternal.⁵

Though primarily intended for our Lord's first disciples, this parable of the Ten Virgins is for all time, and has a distinct meaning for ourselves. Christ, though always

¹ John xxi. 22.

² See Westcott's *Revelation of the Risen Lord*, p. 144. It may be noticed here that St. Peter, who was characterized by his active energy, and to whom was assigned "the service of working," may be regarded as the typical good and faithful servant of the parable of the Talents. In fact, the passage in St. John's Gospel (xxi. 15-23), so exquisitely interpreted by the Bishop of Durham in sections VII. and VIII. of the book just mentioned, may be regarded as a beautiful illustration, offered to us by our Lord Himself, of the meaning of these two complementary parables of the inner and the outer life.

³ Rev. xxi. 2.

⁴ Rev. xix. 9.

⁵ See Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 6th ed., p. 225.

present, yet "comes" again and again in the crises of our own lives, and in the momentous events of the world's history. But all such manifestations of His presence will pass unheeded unless we prepare ourselves beforehand. In an age of restless hurry we must, whilst faithfully doing our work in the world, find time also for quiet thought. Through an inner life, in which we humbly seek admittance into the Divine Presence, we must learn to regard all things from a heavenly standpoint. With watchful eyes, guided by the Spirit of truth, we must strive to see how the Father's loving hand is always shaping our lives, even in the sorest tribulations, and how it is through suffering that Christ leads us into His glory, death being ever the condition of newness of life. Our powers of insight thus quickened through sufferings patiently borne, we shall be able to look farther afield, and to behold the kingdom of God continually coming even through those calamitous events which to the unseeing eye seem to envelop the Son of man in impenetrable darkness.

When the assaults of scepticism seem to shake the Church of Christ till it totters, we shall see that nought is being overthrown but some unsound interpretations of the Scriptures on which a counterfeit Christianity has been erected; that thereby the eternal city is being brought forth into a clearer light, *the city that hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God*; ¹ and that the living Word is manifesting Himself in more radiant glory.

When some civil revolution seems to be undermining the most stable foundations of society, we shall see that the axe and the fire are levelling the way for another coming of the true Husband of humanity, and that the Son of man is revealing in some new light the *kingdom that cannot be shaken*. ²

When nation rises against nation in some internecine

¹ Heb. xi. 10.

² Heb. xii. 28.

war that reddens the earth with blood, we shall see that, whatever visible armies may be engaged in the conflict, the heavenly hosts are also fighting against the powers of darkness. We shall see that, however disastrous the apparent results may be, the real issue as regards men's eternal interests cannot be doubtful; that the Lord of hosts is Himself contending on behalf of men of every nation who love righteousness; and that all who are ranged on His side must share in the victory. We shall see that the King of kings is once more coming to proclaim that *the kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ*.¹

It is impossible for us to determine beforehand the outward forms through which the consummation of our own age will be manifested. We can only endeavour to interpret in succession each sign that marks its approach. Nor yet is it for us *to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set in His own authority*.² We must wait in patience, with eyes turned steadfastly towards Christ, and give unceasing heed to His bidding: *Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour*.

W. D. RIDLEY.

¹ Rev. xi. 15.

² Acts i. 7.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE TALMUD.

THE courteous criticism of Mr. G. A. Cooke upon my remarks in the *EXPOSITOR* for September on certain Talmudic references to the Blessed Virgin, together with letters which have reached me from other Semitic scholars, has convinced me of the importance of the considerations which I adduced, as well as satisfied me of their substantial accuracy. And I am not without hope that I shall be able, by a few additional references and some extension of the comparative method which I employ, to secure Mr. Cooke as an ally, in which case the article will not have been written in vain. I will even venture to say that he will not be able to decipher the Talmudic texts with which he is so familiar, unless he plows with my heifer or with some stronger animal of the same breed; for it is certain that those whom he calls the "competent Talmudic scholars," after centuries of study, unrivalled in patient devotion to their text, have done next to nothing to make the Talmud available for the study of history or of the evolution of doctrine. In the case of such passages as relate to the Christian religion this might be due to intentional fuliginosity (if I may coin a word), but it cannot be the case that the whole of the Talmud has been wilfully obscured, and therefore the difficulties of its interpretation lie (i.) in the manner of its composition, which was by gradual deposit without regard to chronology, and (ii.) in the method of its study, which has been too much detached from the adjacent literatures of the world. I fancy that Mr. Cooke himself is as yet too much in the net of the Talmudists. His article, however, is valuable and instructive, and will be generally appreciated.

Returning then to the subject which I introduced to the readers of the *EXPOSITOR*, let me take the two leading

passages in the order in which I introduced them. First of all, I showed that Laible was correct in identifying Mary the woman's hair-dresser of the Talmud with Mary Magdalene and with Mary the Virgin. I did not know at the time that I had the support of Dr. Neubauer for this interpretation, but as he has since informed me on the point, I hasten to do him justice by printing in full the passage in *Géographie du Talmud*, in which he makes this explanation of the name of the Magdalene.

P. 14. "Si la leçon du Talmud de Babylone est exacte, Césarée était appelée également שר מנרל ou שר, 'tour forte' ou 'tour du prince.' Dans le dernier sens on l'appelle aussi מנרל נשיא; c'est de là, croit on, que provient le nom¹ de מרים מנרל נשיא, 'Marie de Césarée.' Nous préférons la traduction 'Marie de Magdala.' Marie la mère de Jésus est surnommée également Marie Migdala Nassi, dans les Talmuds, par confusion avec Maria Magdalena."

Dr. Neubauer's interpretation, then, agrees with mine so far as regards (i.) the etymological meaning of the name Magdalene, (ii.) the confusion between the Magdalene and the Blessed Virgin. In which connection two things are to be noted, the one that the explanation is made through the *Aramaic* root נרל, to plait, and not through the Hebrew; the other that, as I have shown, the confusion was common in those portions of the Early Church that lie most nearly adjacent to the Jewish centres of learning.

And it follows from this that in passages where there are exegetical and etymological subtleties we must be prepared to go outside the strict Hebrew into Syriac and even into Greek, as well as to consult the early Christian writers of the East, who remained for a long time, practically Judæo-Christian in their methods of interpretation. My contri-

¹ *Tal. de Bab.*, traité Haguiga, fol. 4b. Des commentateurs expliquent ce nom par "Marie la coiffeuse."

bution to the subject consists in the light that I throw upon the Talmud from the adjacent and parallel Syriac literature.¹ And this contribution might be made much more extensive, for, once the attention is drawn to the subject, it will be found that the attempts to explain the name of the Magdalene are traceable right through the Syriac literature, and not only as I pointed out, in Bar-Salibi, and that the confusion between the two Marys is very early in the Syrian Church. It must have been early, if it existed at all. For example, it will, I think, be found that the Syrian commentator Isho'dad has the same series of explanations of the name of the Magdalene as occur in Bar-Salibi. They are a part of the regular Syrian Targum upon the Gospel.

Further than this, it is easy to see that the interpretations in question are not borrowed from the Jews; they are simple and natural and obviously original in the Syriac. They reduce to two classes: (i.) Magdalene "the plaiter," which is the Aramaic explanation; (ii.) Magdalene, the woman of "the tower," which is the Hebrew explanation; in which latter case it only remains to identify the tower alluded to.

There cannot be a doubt then that the Talmudic "*women's plaiter*" is a later form and not the original interpretation. And consequently Mr. Cooke cannot be right in suggesting that Mary of Cæsarea might be a misunderstanding or variant interpretation of the Talmudic מרים מגדלא נשיא, *i.e.*, Mary of the prince's tower, the prince being Cæsar. A reference to the Syriac tradition shows that the reason why Cæsarea came to be suggested as the native place of Mary was because they were in search of a *tower*, and the favourite identifications were with *Turris*

¹ For this reason it was not necessary to tell me, as Mr. Cooke does, that the passive participle of צלל was צליל in Hebrew, any more than it is necessary to repel the interpretation of Magdalene because it is made through the Syriac.

Stratonis, *i.e.*, Cæsarea, or with the tower of Siloam. The Syriac tradition is quite clear on these points; and, therefore, whenever in the Talmud we find any allusion to "Mary the women's hair-dresser" or "Mary of the tower" or "Mary who rears children" (using a third Hebrew etymology) we are to replace all of these by the primitive Mary Magdalene.

The mother of Jesus is, therefore, according to the Talmud, Mary the Magdalene, who is, according to the fancy of the interpreter, Mary the plaiter, *or* Mary the plaiter of women's hair,¹ *or* Mary of the tower (the tower being Cæsarea, Siloam, or any other tower, real or imaginary), *or* Mary the rearer (of מרדקי), whatever may be the meaning of the bracketed expression.

I hope I shall not be considered over-confident in saying that this obscure and involved tradition is now reasonably clear. We have traced it to its fountain-head in the Gospel story, and the primitive comments thereupon.

And now we come to the second of the two passages, *viz.*, that in which the Blessed Virgin is represented in Gehenna. I freely admit that my solution of the difficulty in this passage is doubtful, and the more so because I am here deserted by Laible and Neubauer, and have to face some incisive criticism from Mr. Cooke. At the same time I am pretty sure that if I am wrong, I am not far from being right. And perhaps a slight change in the presentation of the subject will clear away some of its difficulties and show the direction in which the solution must lie.

It will be remembered that in the passage quoted from *Chagiga*, it was said that, according to R. Lazar ben Jose, a devout person saw Mary, the daughter of Eli Betzalim, suspended by the paps of her breasts. R. Jose ben

¹ I see no reason to invent a new Magdalene, as Mr. Cooke suggests, following Levy, for the story of R. Bibl. The passage in question is not history. And if it were, we should have two new Mary Magdalenes, neither of whom is known, except for their connection with the last hours of R. Bibl.

Chanina says, further, that the hinge of hell's gate was fastened in her ear. And we are further told that this punishment was to be continued until the coming of Simeon ben Shetach.

Mr. Cooke argues that this is not necessarily a vision of the *Inferno*, but merely a dream in which certain dead persons appear in various circumstances. The circumstances cannot be infernal, because it is not said that what happens to Simeon ben Shetach happens in Gehenna. If the gate of hell is not in hell, it would be a problem in ecclesiastical geography to determine its location : has some Talmudic Samson carried it off to some other place? In that case a part of the hinge would be left behind, and the torment alluded to becomes impossible. The dead persons, therefore, appear in hell, for where the gate of Gehenna is, it may be presumed that Gehenna itself is to be found.

But Mr. Cooke says, further, that the immediately preceding story about the death of Ben Maon, the tax-collector, shows that we are not to regard the Apocalypse as seriously meant, for the tax-collector was seen walking in gardens and parks, and by springs of water, trying to drink by the bank of a river, without being able to reach the water.

Is it possible that Mr. Cooke has failed to recognise the figure of Tantalus ; and does he suppose that Tantalus was anywhere out of hell, or that a more diabolical torture could be conceived than thirst amid streams that recede from the lips?

Mr. Cooke's illustration that this is not exactly a vision of Gehenna, proves the very opposite. The people are certainly in hell ; and the descriptions find their parallel in the Greek underworld, and in the Peter Apocalypse ; and as far as the treatment of individually objectionable characters goes, in the *Inferno* of Dante.

Mary, the daughter of Eli Betzalim, was therefore consigned to hell by the Talmud, in the same sense as Brutus and Cassius, or Francesca di Rimini, by Dante.

And this clears the discussion, for we are now able to apply an important Jewish canon with regard to the retribution in the next world, namely, that the punishment of the sinner is by the member that sinned. I will not accumulate passages from the Talmud to prove this; it is a well-known principle and is not confined to the Jewish world. The Peter Apocalypse is full of it; and the Syriac literature, from which we draw so many illustrations, reproduces the Jewish rule exactly. For example, a reference to Mössinger's Commentary of Ephrem shows the following instance:

"Per membrum quod deliquit, Zachariam
puniri oportuit."

If we leave out the name Zacharias, we have the Jewish rule; and indeed it is a common rule of Eastern religious thought.

We are therefore led to seek for the sins of Mary, the daughter of Eli Betzalim, in the sinful members, viz.: her breasts and her ear. And neither of these appears to be affected by the accepted Talmudic solution, which is that her father was an objectionable person, whose nickname was Leaves of Onions, for so they interpret Eli Betzalim; an explanation which can only be met with the words "risum teneatis, amici?" It surely must be admitted that Mary was an objectionable person herself; the Talmud would never consign her to hell, and to such arduous hell, because her father was disagreeable. Moreover, it is not proved that to be called "Leaves of Onions" is an objectionable term; it might be in the West, but not in the East. We are therefore obliged to seek a more reasonable solution than that of the "competent Talmudists" which Mr. Cooke has endorsed.

My own solution is that, underlying the name Eli Betzalim will be found an allusion to either the Cross or the Crucified. I freely admit that my explanation (Mary, the daughter of Eli, the mother of the Crucified) does not seem sufficiently simple. Another solution has been proposed to me by an excellent Talmudic scholar, which is that as *עֵלִים*, i.e., idol, is the Jewish esoteric term (by assonance) for the Cross, that we may read the passage: "He saw Mary, the daughter of Eli, hanging on a cross by her breasts," and I think this is a better solution than mine, though it would perhaps be objected that the use of "idol" for "cross" cannot be carried so far back as to furnish the explanation. But, whatever may be the exact solution, I think we have come very near to it, and that the whole passage will presently be cleared up. Mr. Cooke's objections to Gehenna have been dissipated, and it only requires now the courage to forsake the traditional and unnatural explanation of the Talmudic schools, and to substitute for it the explanation which, if they have not forgotten, the Jewish teachers are unwilling to disclose.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

JEREMIAH: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

VII. THE FUTURE.

"DEAD nations never rise again" is the aphorism of a modern poet. Nations have, like individuals, their seasons of development, when their genius unfolds its qualities and their contribution is made to the progress of the world; but, when this flowering time is past and the winter of decay overtakes them, there is no return possible to the place of power. In favour of this view of history a formidable array of facts might be adduced. Nothing in human affairs is more striking than the fourth-rate position

occupied in the modern world by races which, in ancient times, played a foremost part, or the desolation which now reigns in portions of the globe which were once the most crowded centres of human life. Nineveh and Babylon were, in the era of the Prophets, the Paris and London of the ancient world; but to-day things lie deeply buried beneath the sands of the desert, and so total is their annihilation that armies have marched over their sites without being aware of the fact.

If ever a nation appeared so dead that it could never by any possibility rise again, it was the Jewish people after it had endured the calamities foretold by Jeremiah. Not only had the country been harried again and again with fire and sword, but foreigners had been brought to occupy the vacant fields and cities. The capital was in ruins, the temple burnt; and the inhabitants, along with their king and such members of his family as had escaped massacre, were deported to a distant land, where their movements were watched by a jealous and powerful enemy. The natural issue seemed to be that they should melt into the larger and stronger population amidst which they were cast and disappear forever, whilst in the country which they had lost the new settlers built up a new state as far as they might be able.

Such was the position of Israel: it seemed to be utterly at the end of its history. Jeremiah at least might have taken this view of the case. In the later stages of his country's existence he had been the prophet of evil; while other prophets took a hopeful view of the situation, he refused to mitigate his predictions of calamity in the slightest degree; and, when the day of darkness closed down and there was no escape, his Cassandra-like voice kept on repeating woe as an accompaniment to the swiftly-falling blows of divine retribution. Such a pessimist might have been expected to believe that the calamity which had

befallen the guilty state was final, and that the dead nation could never rise again.

But, strange to say, this was not the case: Jeremiah was as steady as the most sanguine of the false prophets in declaring that the calamity was not final, but that there still lay before his country a future and a hope. In the middle of his prophecies there are four chapters, xxx.—xxxiii., which have been felicitously called the Book of Consolation;¹ they are in marked contrast with the tone of the rest of his writings, being as full of sunshine as the major portion of the book is of gloom. The general uncertainty as to the order of Jeremiah's prophecies renders it doubtful to what period of his life the Book of Consolation belongs. Probably, indeed, it was not written all at once; it may be a collection of the bright things scattered over his whole ministry; but in the rest of his writings there are fragments which prove that consolation was always an element in his ministry. Gloomy as was the general tone of his messages, the gloom was never wholly unrelieved.

Jeremiah held firmly to the faith that the people of God could never perish. "Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the sun for a light by day and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which divideth the sea when the waves thereof roar, the Lord is His name. If those ordinances depart from before Me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before Me forever."²

Not only would the nation persist, but the soil of the Holy Land, from which it had been expelled, would be restored to it. Of his faith in this restitution Jeremiah gave a signal proof by purchasing a field in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the height of the Babylonian siege.³ The Roman historian, Livy, gives an account⁴ of a trans-

¹ Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 310.

² xxxi. 35.

³ xxxii. 9.

⁴ Livy, xxvi. 11.

action almost identical at the moment when Hannibal was at the gates of Rome: the very spot on which the Carthaginian general was encamped was purchased at its full value by a Roman citizen who did not despair of the republic.

Of course the restoration of the Holy Land implied that the people would be brought back from their captivity. This was a most unlikely occurrence; but Jeremiah again and again in the clearest terms predicted it: "The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying, "Write thee all the words that I have spoken unto thee in a book, for, lo, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of My people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord, and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it." The deliverance from Babylon would outrival even the famous Exodus from Egypt: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be said, The Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, but, The Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the North, and from all the lands whither He had driven them. For I will again bring them into the land which I gave unto their fathers." To Jeremiah it was even given to specify the length of time which the captivity was to last; and the fulfilment of this prediction is one of the most remarkable instances of fulfilled prophecy which the Scriptures contain. "After seventy years be accomplished for Babylon I will visit you, I will perform My good word to you, and cause you to return here." At the time Babylon was the greatest military power on earth and seemed impregnable; but Jeremiah foretold that it would fall before the invader; and that in the catastrophe Israel would escape. And thus it all came to pass.¹

Jeremiah describes not a few features of the return. The towns of Judah would be re-occupied by their lawful

¹ Cf. xxix. 10, 14; xxx. 38; xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 7, 11, 26; xxv. 12, etc,

inhabitants. Above all, the Holy City would be built again on its own hills. The temple, with its sacrifices and services, would be restored; so would be the royal house. Jeremiah calls the king who is to reign over the New Jerusalem by the name of "David," not meaning that David would return from the dead, but that one of David's line and character would ascend the throne; and the same is denoted by calling the Messianic King "the Branch": although the tree of royalty had been cut down, a sprout would spring from its root, and flourish far beyond the dimensions even of the original tree.¹

Jeremiah's guarantee for all these wonders was the undying love of Jehovah for the people of His choice: "Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love," he represents Jehovah as saying, "therefore My loving-kindness have I continued unto thee." And what Jehovah's love designed His almighty power was able to accomplish: "Is anything," the prophet demands, "too hard for the Lord?" The very desperateness of the case is a challenge to God; for, more than anything else, He is the God of salvation.

Jeremiah's pictures of the future do not equal those of some of the prophets. The prospect, for example, of the return from exile does not make him glow with the poetic fire of Isaiah; nor does he nearly come up to that great prophet in his references to the Messiah. But his predictions are remarkable as coming from him. He was the prophet of lamentation and mourning and woe; the wings of his imagination never learned fully to expand, for they were pressed down by the leaden weight of calamity.

Yet there is one point at which Jeremiah, I will not say, soars higher, but goes deeper than any of the other prophets: this is in his prediction of the New Covenant,² perhaps the

¹ Cf. xvii. 25; xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15, 17.

² Especially chap. xxxi. 31 ff.

profoundest glance into the future which the prophetic writings contain. If it is excelled at all, it is only by the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. On the whole, Jeremiah, like the other prophets, predicts the future in terms of the present. That is to say, while he foresaw the surpassing glory of the Messianic era, the scenery in which it was embodied was the scenery of his own age—the Holy Land, the cities of Judah, Mount Zion, the temple, the Davidic dynasty—only all these enhanced. The prophets could not divest themselves of the furnishings of the world in which they lived; and, although they predicted that a new world was coming, this was only their own world in a glorified form. All the more remarkable is it that Jeremiah foresaw that there was to be a change in the most important respect of all—there was to be a new covenant.

A new covenant means in the mouth of Jeremiah almost the same as we should mean by speaking of a new religion. The word "religion" never once occurs in the Old Testament—a fact which must strike the reader as strange when it is remembered that the subject of the book from end to end is religion. But, of course, the Bible has equivalents for the modern term, and of these perhaps the most important is "covenant." In scores of passages of the Old Testament "covenant" occurs where we should naturally say "religion."

The two words have nearly the same significance. Etymologically "religion" is usually supposed to mean something which binds back—it is a ligature by which God and man are bound together. Now, a covenant is a transaction in which two parties meet; it is a bargain, agreement or league. In a covenant each party to the transaction both gives something to the other and receives something in return. In ordinary covenants the things exchanged may be of less or greater value; but in covenants of the highest order the parties exchange the most precious

which they possess, namely, themselves. Thus in marriage, perhaps the highest form of covenant between human beings, the man gives himself to the woman and the woman gives herself to the man: he conferring on her the right to expect from him, as long as life lasts, all the love and protection involved in the name of husband, while she, in like manner, bestows on him the right to expect from her all that is involved in the name of wife. Many times in Scripture the covenant between God and His people is compared to marriage, and this shows what its nature is: it is such a connexion between God and man that, in giving up themselves, they thenceforth belong to each other. Hence the purpose of the covenant is constantly expressed by God in these terms: "They shall be My people and I will be their God."

There was an old covenant. This, Jeremiah says, was made in the day when Jehovah brought His people forth out of the land of Egypt. This is in accordance with the conception under which the whole Old Testament is written. The very purpose for which Jehovah delivered Israel from Egypt was to enter into covenant with them. For this purpose He led them into the recesses of the wilderness. Mount Sinai was the altar, the law was the marriage settlement, and in the twenty-fourth chapter of Exodus the story is told of how the union was solemnized.

But the old covenant had proved a failure. All through the history from the Exodus to the Exile it had run its course; but its course had been disastrous: the union between God and Israel had not been full of love and happiness, but of discord and pain. At last it was broken and at an end. So Jeremiah interpreted the fall of the Jewish state; and this was the worst aspect of the great calamity: it meant a final severance between Israel and Jehovah.

But at this critical juncture it was vouchsafed to Jere-

miah to announce that there was to be a new covenant; and this was by far the weightiest word he ever uttered. It had, indeed, to wait longer for its fulfilment than he anticipated; but, on the night on which the Son of Man was betrayed into the hands of sinners, He took the cup and, giving it, said, "This is the new covenant in My blood," intimating that in His cross the prediction of Jeremiah was fulfilled. It is most unfortunate that this saying of our Lord is rendered, "This is the new testament," instead of, "This is the new covenant," for the reference is obscured. Besides, "testament" is an incorrect translation; "covenant" is not only literal, but far more significant. In the same way Old Testament and New Testament, the names for the two halves of the Bible, ought to be Old Covenant and New Covenant. Were the correct word used, we should perceive that every time we name the second half of the Bible, we are quoting the phrase of Jeremiah. The Old Testament is the book which narrates the history of religion under the form of the old covenant; the New Testament is its history under the new covenant.

This prophet, then, perceived that religion under its old form had run its course, and that a new form was required. But wherein lies the difference between the old and the new? It is his insight into this which is Jeremiah's immortal distinction.

The old covenant had proved a failure; or, in prophetic phraseology, had been broken. But why did it fail? Because one of the parties had been unfaithful. God had been faithful; His love had never failed; but man had been unfaithful; man had ceased to love and therefore to obey. If, then, a new covenant was to come into existence, more lasting than the old, what must be its peculiarity? Obviously it must have more power of binding the human heart; on God's side no change was required, but man's heart must be held by a more potent and enduring attraction.

Accordingly Jeremiah thus defines it: "I will put My law in their inward parts and write it on their hearts." What is a law written on the heart? It is obedience springing out of affection. The law of the old covenant was written outside the heart, on tables of stone; men obeyed it in order to be loved. But in the new covenant love will be created first, and from it obedience will follow.

To the same effect is the prophet's further definition of the peculiarity of the new covenant: "They shall teach no more every man his neighbour and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord." This is generally interpreted to mean that in Gospel times religious instruction would be unnecessary; the prophet's function would cease because all would be prophets—a hyperbolical way of saying that knowledge would be intuitive and universal. But it is not to the instruction of religious teachers, but to their urgency that the reference is. What Jeremiah says is that it will no longer be necessary to press the knowledge of God; because God will be revealed in a character so attractive that all hearts will be fascinated and will desire His intimacy.

But how is God thus to be made more attractive and the human heart to be won? The prophet gives the answer in these words: "For I will forgive their iniquity and I will remember their sins no more." It is by the fuller revelation of the gracious side of His character that God is to be made more attractive; it is by an unexampled experience of forgiveness that the heart is to be won.

We know how this has been fulfilled in the Gospel—"God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have eternal life." Thus revealed, God is infinitely attractive; and, thus procured, pardon is infinitely affecting.

But can we affirm that Jeremiah connected his prophecy

with Christ? He has one name for the Messianic King—Jehovah-tsidkenu,¹ the Lord our righteousness—on which evangelical feeling has seized as indicating such a connexion; and there can be no objection to our using this title to express the fact that Christ has procured for us the pardon which is the root of love and obedience. But how far this combination of ideas may be ascribed to the prophet is more doubtful. All he knew may have been that the Messianic King was to bear a name denoting that in the new age God Himself was to be the source of the righteousness for lack of which the old covenant had been broken and in virtue of which the new covenant was to be everlasting. It was not given to the prophets to see the new era in its entirety; they set it forth, as they were able, in hints and fragments: it remained for the Messiah Himself, when He came, to draw together all the threads and form out of them the seamless and glorious robe in which He now shines and moves in the eyes of all the ages.

JAMES STALKER.

THE BEATITUDES.

SEEING that the beatitudes are prized as the very choicest gems in the treasury of our Lord's teaching, it is unfortunate that students of the New Testament have not been able to arrive at a common understanding as to the form in which they were originally spoken. We have two versions—one in the First Gospel (Matt. v. 3-12), and the other in the Third Gospel (Luke vi. 20-23), which differ considerably, as indeed do the two accounts of the whole discourse in which they occur. At the first blush of it, the simplest explanation would seem to be to follow Augustine in holding that we have here the narratives of separate discourses

¹ xxiii. 6; xxx. 16.

delivered by Jesus Christ on separate occasions. The more the facts are examined, however, the more difficult does this hypothesis become; the introductory circumstances, the concluding parables, many utterances, and the drift throughout are too similar in the two narratives to make it at all probable. Opinion continues to oscillate between preference for Matthew and preference for Luke. When the subject began to be freely discussed—about a century ago—St. Luke's version was regarded as the more primitive. This view was maintained by Schleiermacher, Credner, Schulz, Fritz, Olshausen, and others; and Tholuck tells us that when he advanced the opposite opinion he stood almost alone (*Com. on Serm. on Mount*, p. 4). But there came a turn in the tide. De Wette agreed with Tholuck's position, Meyer followed him on the same lines, and Hilgenfeld, from the Tübingen standpoint, maintained that the third evangelist had remodelled the language found in the first. In the present day opinion seems to be pretty equally divided. Holtzmann leans to Matthew's account as the more religious, and regards Luke's as a selection made from the evangelist's own sociological and ascetic standpoint (*Hand-Commentar, Die Synop.*, p. 100); Weiss admits that Luke has the sayings of Christ more correctly arranged in their historical setting, and yet maintains that Matthew's is undoubtedly the more original text (*Introd. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 220; *Bib. Theol.*, vol. i. pp. 107, 127); and Beyschlag unhesitatingly accepts the first evangelist's wording of the beatitudes (*Neutest. Theol.*, vol. i. p. 47). On the other hand, Wendt, discussing the whole subject more fully, arrives at the conclusion that the balance of probability is in favour of Luke (*Die Lehre Jesu*, part i. p. 55); Resch also grants the priority to Luke (*Agrapha*, p. 247).

In attempting a fresh consideration of this question, we have to take account of the following leading distinctions:—

First, in Matthew there are 7 beatitudes, or, according to another reckoning, 8; in Luke there are but 4. Secondly, in Matthew the beatitudes are complete in themselves, and are followed by other topics; in Luke the 4 beatitudes are succeeded by a corresponding series of lamentations. In the third place, and here we come to the crux of the matter, in Matthew the beatitudes are of a spiritual character, describing for the most part persons of some specific excellence, for which the severally allotted blessings are the fitting rewards, or even the natural fruit; while in Luke attention is directed to the social conditions and sufferings of the several classes of people to whom the great blessings of the kingdom are promised.

That we have strong motives for accepting the version of the first evangelist is not to be denied. Compared with this, Luke's version cannot but strike us as thin and meagre. There is a richness in the beatitudes of Matthew that has commended them to every reader, so that they have passed into the popular understanding as simply *the* beatitudes, without any thought of their rivals. This common acceptance of them cannot but speak strongly for their true spiritual worth. But how dangerous it is to attempt to settle questions of verbal criticism by reference to considerations of this order, is clearly shown by the fact that many people who are able to appreciate the Bible spiritually in the highest degree entertain the quaintest notions in regard to its literary character. Questions that deal with the latter must be considered on their own merits.

Superior as the Matthew version may seem to be to that of Luke while the two are simply laid side by side, when we look at the comparison in all its relations it begins to assume different proportions. Several facts concur in pointing just the opposite way.

1. In other cases it seems that we must give the prefer-

ence to the language of the Third Gospel, as more primitive than that of the first. Thus in Mark, one of the acknowledged common sources of the two, we read continually of "the Kingdom of God." This phrase passes over to Luke. But in Matthew it becomes "the Kingdom of Heaven," in harmony with the more Hebraistic tone of the latter work. Again, in the Third Gospel, Jesus says to the young ruler, "Why callest thou Me good? None is good save One, even God" (Luke xviii. 19)—word for word as the speech is found in Mark (x. 18, R.V.). In Matthew, however, according to the best authorities for the text (N B D, etc.), the language is softened into "Why askest thou Me concerning that which is good?" etc. If Matthew's version had been the original, it is inconceivable that any Christian writer would have ventured to alter it in order to put words into the lips of our Lord that have always occasioned a difficulty to His followers, assured as they are of His perfect goodness. In other cases, it is true, Matthew is nearer to Mark, and in most of these he is probably more correct. But the peculiar character of those cited shows a tendency in Matthew to smooth the harshness of the primitive tradition, and this is just analogous to the case of the beatitudes.

2. It is generally admitted that Luke is more careful in placing the sayings of Jesus Christ in their original historical framework, while Matthew's aim seems to be rather to group them according to their topics, a fact which of itself points to a probability of more change in Matthew. In dealing with the Sermon on the Mount this difference is to be observed. Luke makes it clear that the great discourse was given immediately after the appointment of the twelve apostles, and as a sort of ordination charge to them (Luke vi. 12-20). Matthew never mentions the original appointment of the apostles, and at the conclusion refers to the sermon having been heard by "the multitudes" (Matt.

vii. 28, 29) ; and yet he retains an allusion to the original intention of the discourse in his opening words, which seem to make a distinction between the great crowd and the "disciples" whom Jesus drew off to the mountain that He might speak to them without distraction (Matt. v. 1, 2). If, then, Luke is nearer to the original facts in these matters, is it not reasonable to suppose that he is also nearer to the language of our Lord on the same occasion ?

3. The literary history of the Bible has made it abundantly manifest that it was always the tendency of writers to expand rather than to abbreviate. The later writer feels called upon to enlarge upon the brief notes he has received, not indeed with any intention of deceiving, but with the very opposite purpose, in order to explain what seems to him to be obscure and to give the correct meaning to what appears to be in danger of misinterpretation. He attempts to develop and so make clear the ideas which he believes to be wrapped up in the pithy utterances that lie before him. The quality of such work as this varies immensely according to the capacity and character of the workman. In inferior hands poetry is converted into prose, and choice thought watered down to dullest commonplace. But when the writer is himself an inspired teacher the expansion of the more or less enigmatic utterance with which he has to do is a genuine explanation of its meaning. This gives the secondary writing a distinct value of its own. But it does not make it the less a secondary writing. The beatitudes seem to afford an admirable illustration of this process at its best. We cannot be too thankful for Matthew's version of these sayings of our Lord, it is so valuable an exposition of the hidden truth contained in the shorter utterances which appear in Luke ; and yet it must be confessed that it is according to all analogy that those shorter utterances should turn out to be the original ones.

4. Looking now more closely at the beatitudes themselves we have first the difference of form. Matthew's are in the third person, Luke's in the second. Now is it not more likely that when addressing a solemn charge to His own disciples Jesus Christ would adopt the more direct form of speech? He does so on other occasions, and this form appears in Matthew at the end of the beatitudes and throughout the remainder of the Sermon on the Mount. This then points to Luke's form of the beatitudes as the more primitive.

5. Next we have the difference in the number of the beatitudes, seven or eight in Matthew, and only four in Luke. It might seem more likely that some of the original utterances of our Lord would be forgotten than that new sentences should be added. This is not a case of mere expansion, as in the enlargement of individual beatitudes referred to above; it is one of clear addition. On the other hand, it must be remembered that in a distinctively Jewish writing the number seven would have a great attraction. This sacred number might be made up by the insertion of true teachings of Christ moulded so as to suit their new setting. It is admitted that Matthew does obtain lengthy discourses elsewhere by combining utterances of our Lord which were spoken on various occasions. Or look at it in another way. In Luke the four beatitudes are followed by four lamentations. Thus Luke has his eight aphorisms. If the lamentations were dropped, there would be an inducement to make up the number by selections from other teachings of Christ. Of course we may imagine the reverse process to have taken place, but there is a remarkable unity in the whole scheme as it appears in Luke that makes this hypothesis less likely. We know that our Lord was in the habit of uttering most terrible lamentations. The language here preserved by St. Luke is no stronger and no more stern than that of Matthew xxiii. The Sermon

on the Mount has other instances of the antithetic method, *e.g.*, the Narrow Way leading to Life and the Broad Way leading to Destruction, and the concluding parables of the House on the Rock and the House on the Sand. It is just according to the analogy of these utterances that Jesus should balance His beatitudes with the corresponding lamentations. Nor is it altogether wonderful that these lamentations should be omitted by Matthew. There is a graceful smoothness about the rendering of the great discourse in the First Gospel which the evangelist may have thought better left undisturbed by the insertion of the harsh lamentations immediately after the lovely beatitudes.

6. We now come to the chief distinction between the two versions of the beatitudes. In Matthew they treat of spiritual characters and their fitting rewards and natural fruits; in Luke they are connected with the external condition of people, their social state, and the sufferings to which they are subjected, apparently without any reference to their personal characters. Now it has been justly pointed out by Wendt that the beatitudes in Luke cannot be promised as rewards for the states there described, since those states are not of a moral or spiritual nature, as are the states described in Matthew. This fact, however, does not rob them of their value. It rather puts them in line with the doctrine of grace, the free offer of the gospel, and the exceeding gladness of the news that Jesus came to preach. This difference might seem to militate against the Lucan version, were it not that traces of the form preserved in that version are to be found in Matthew's. Thus the second beatitude in Matthew is of the same nature as the beatitudes in Luke. This does not refer to any moral character. It simply promises consolation to mourners, as the beatitudes in Luke promise blessings to the poor and hungry and suffering.

It cannot be denied that the drift of the beatitudes as

they appear in Luke is entirely in accordance with the spirit and teaching of Christ. In the great annunciation of His programme at Nazareth He struck the keynote of His teaching by starting with a reading of an ancient prophecy which He declared gave the reason for His divinely ordered mission in the words, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor" (Luke iv. 18). And in the parable of the great supper the servant is commanded to "go quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame" (Luke xiv. 21). If it be objected that, inasmuch as these passages and others of kindred nature, such as the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, are only found in the Third Gospel, they bear witness to the Ebionite tendency of the writer, it may be replied that they are to be matched with close parallels in the other Synoptics. Thus we have the answer sent to John's enquiry from prison concluding with the words, "The poor have good tidings preached to them" (Matt. xi. 5); and the difficulty of a rich man entering the kingdom of God, a difficulty that amounts to an absolute impossibility without special Divine aid (Matt. xix. 23, 24; Mark x. 23-27). The great truth that the very best things are offered to the poor and suffering and helpless lies at the heart of the gospel. It exactly meets a need that is left by the opposite method pursued in the course of nature. The law of the survival of the fittest may be good news to the strong; it is a doctrine of doom for the weak. In the fierce competition of nature, as in the fierce competition of human life, the weak must go to the wall. Here is a crying need, and Christ comes directly to meet it. The most marked characteristic of Christianity is compassion, the compassion of the Saviour, the compassion of God revealed and made effective in His Son. St. Luke's version of the beatitudes brings this out with double emphasis by being set against the

dark back-ground of the miserable disappointment that is in store for the self-sufficient. If this is Ebionite, Christianity is Ebionite; but it is nothing of the kind, for it does not imply the meritoriousness of poverty and abstinence, it simply promises compassion and help from God for people in these conditions.

7. After the Gospels there is no book of the New Testament so full of allusions to the teachings of Jesus Christ as the Epistle of St. James. If we may accept Mr. Mayor's strong arguments in favour of the early date of this writing, and "perhaps name the year 40 A.D. as the earliest, and 50 A.D. as the latest, at which the Epistle could have been written" (*The Epistle of St. James*, p. cxxiv.), we have here a document considerably prior to all the Gospels, and therefore not borrowing from any of them. Now St. James reminds us of the beatitudes and lamentations that were recorded by St. Luke, though not till after the appearance of the Epistle. Thus, he says, "Did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith" (Jas. ii. 5), and he goes on to mention the oppression practised by the rich, making a charge against the wealthy of his day which may account for the apparently harsh words used about them by Jesus in His lamentations. In another place St. James utters a lamentation over the rich that reads like an expansion of our Lord's words on the subject, with allusions to kindred sayings of Jesus, as that about the moth and rust that destroy earthly treasures (Jas. v. 1-6). This too gives such a picture of the rich men of the time as fully justifies the anticipation of a terrible destiny for them such as is indicated in the language of Christ.

8. A very striking confirmation of St. Luke's version is contained in the Epistle of Polycarp, where the writer gives as "words which the Lord spake" the sentence, "Blessed are the poor and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God" (*Epist. to Philipppians*, 2).

The form of this beatitude—its being in the third person—recalls Matthew's version; but it is significant that Polycarp has simply "the poor" as in Luke, not Matthew's "poor in spirit." Credner, who first drew attention to this fact in its bearing on the question now before us, also cited the testimony of the Clementines, in which we read, "But our teacher pronounced the faithful poor blessed" (*Clem. Hom.*, 10); but these are writings of Ebionite tendency. In the *Apostolical Constitutions*, however, we meet with the hortatory form of St. Luke, and that is independent of doctrinal tendencies. We seem to have a reference to one of the beatitudes in the sentence, "Do ye also rejoice when ye suffer such things, for ye shall be blessed in that day" (*Apos. Con.*, v. 3). On the other hand the *Didache* has Matthew's phrase, "The meek shall inherit the earth" (*Didache*, 3). This may be taken from our Gospel, or from the *Logia*; if from the latter, we must infer that Matthew here follows closest to that primitive authority, as he is generally supposed to do.

The conclusion of the last paragraph brings up another question. If, as the arguments adduced seem to show, Luke's version of the beatitudes is the original, whence came Matthew's? Can we set this down entirely to subsequent reflection and exposition? To do so is to credit the evangelist with more than can be allowed him. The wonderful utterance, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," is found only in Matthew. We cannot possibly regard this as an expansion of any of Luke's beatitudes; it must be a genuine *Logion* of the Master. Moreover, the rich, deep teaching with which Matthew's beatitudes are inspired points throughout to the thought and soul of the Great Teacher. Thus we seem to be urged to a contradiction of the position towards which earlier considerations were leading us. The paradox, however, is not insoluble. We have seen that it was the custom of the first

evangelist to collect sayings of a common character and group them together, and also that it was his habit to round off his materials and shape them into his smooth style. It is in accordance with the analogy of the situation, therefore, to conclude that in the case before us the evangelist has preserved the true thoughts and teachings of Christ and arranged some of the most suitable of these in association with the primary beatitudes. That our Lord was accustomed to speak in the form of the beatitudes, is apparent from various instances. Thus we have the saying preserved by St. Paul, "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx. 35), and probably a genuine tradition of a saying of Christ addressed to the man whom He found working on the sabbath, inserted in the *Codex Beza*. "If thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art under a curse and a transgressor of the law" (Luke vi. 4, D). The beatitude form of speech was in favour among the early Christians. In the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* we have a number of fresh beatitudes associated with genuine teachings of Christ. St. Paul is here represented as saying, "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God. Blessed are they that keep themselves chaste, because they shall be called the temple of God. Blessed are they that mortify their bodies and souls, because unto them speaketh God. Blessed are they who despise the world, for they shall be pleasing to God. Blessing unto them who shall have wives as if they had them not, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed they who shall have the fear of God in their hearts, because they shall be called angels. Blessed they who tremble at the words of God, which they fear, for the Lord shall call them. Blessed be they who have received the wisdom of Jesus Christ, because they shall be called sons of God. Blessed be they who keep the baptism, for they shall rest in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Blessed they who shall

receive the law of Christ, because they shall be for a great light. Blessed those who for the love of Christ shall leave the flesh, for they shall inherit immortal life, and shall stand eternally on the right hand of the Son of God. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy from the Father and in the day of judgment they shall receive the kingdom. Blessing to the souls and bodies of virgins, for they shall be pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity ; for the working of the Father's words shall be found in them, and they shall inherit life in the day of the Son of God, and rest eternal shall be theirs'' (Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*, pp. 64, 65).

The writer here follows Matthew in his quotations from our Lord's beatitudes, and imitates them in adding his own, which are for the most part of a strongly ascetic tone. In these novel beatitudes we meet with evident allusions to New Testament passages. Thus the second sentence is evidently moulded on a phrase of St. Paul's, the temple of God preserved in chastity being a manifest allusion to 1 Corinthians vi. 19. This curious instance of the adaptation of earlier teaching to the form of beatitudes, with which it is wished to bring it into line, may throw some light on the arrangement of the beatitudes in Matthew.

While, then, we are led by a variety of arguments to the conclusion that the original utterance of the beatitudes by Christ corresponds to the group in Luke, we may account for the version in Matthew by supposing that the evangelist collected teachings of Christ from other occasions, and arranged these so as to enrich the primitive beatitudes.

W. F. ADENEY.

*ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF
JOB.*

HAS it ever been suggested that Job xxvii., xxix.-xxxi., xxxviii., xxxix., and xl.-xlii. 6 are the remains of an earlier book, which belongs to an older stratum of ideas than is found in iii.-xxvi., xxviii.? These last might be considered as a whole in themselves, the work of a wise man who returned to the story of Job, which had been treated by wise men before him, because he found it the most appropriate vehicle for his own reflections on the problems of his day. More than one writer told the story of the patriarchs, more than one may well have revived the debate between Job and his friends.

There are two details which may be noticed at once, as they bear upon the question. The formula . . . "Took up his parable and said" . . . is not a common narrative formula in the Old Testament; it is found repeatedly before the speeches of Balaam, it is found nowhere else. Something like it is found in the Book of Job: twice (xxvii. 1, xxix. 1) we read Job "added to take up his parable and said." All the other speeches, even Elihu's, which is divided by the author into several parts, are introduced by . . . "Answered and said." Moreover the sacrifice of seven bullocks and seven rams is not common either; it only occurs twice, Balaam requires it of Balak, God requires it of Job's three friends. These coincidences, though they may be called slight and accidental, suggest that the Epilogue is less loosely attached to what goes before than some modern readers have wished to think. In iii.-xxvi. Job repeatedly puts away from him all earthly hope; when his friends press promises of restoration upon him, he calls them mockers and flatterers. He speaks of a "Redeemer" (xix. 25) who will either comfort or avenge him after his death. It is not quite impossible that he says (as in A.V.) xiii. 15: "Though

He slay me yet will I trust in Him"; all this makes it natural to feel that the ideal end of the story would be, that he was taken at his word and died, holding fast his integrity and his trust in God. But as we learn from Ezekiel xiv., Job was one of the greatest and most celebrated of ancient saints; the tradition about him was fixed before one of the wise men sought to find out words, to express the anguish of Job's spirit and of his own. It came down through the hands of men who were more concerned for the honour of God than for the glory of Job, or for the æsthetic approval of posterity. It is clear from the prologue that, when God gave Satan power to try His servant to the uttermost, He reserved to Himself the power to reward him, and that "before the sons of men."

If the prologue and epilogue are organically connected with the speeches, the key to the book must be found in the word spoken to Eliphaz, xlii. 7: "Ye have not spoken of Me the thing that is right, as My servant Job hath." When did Job speak the thing that is right of God? When he said, "I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes"? Can any Biblical writer represent this as the one thing that God requires, that a man should afflict his soul and bow down his head as a bulrush? or did Job speak aright when he said, "He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked"? or when he said, "The counsel of the wicked be far from me"? or when he said, "My witness is on high"? or, lastly, when in chapter xxvii. he both protested his own integrity, and in the midst of his own distress instructed his friends concerning the judgment that is surely executed against the wicked, though for a time they seem to prosper?

If we take the last answer, we must of course assume that in the first Book of Job he was represented as enforcing truths which his friends either neglected or denied. Per-

haps they were equally sceptical as to human integrity and divine righteousness; perhaps they anticipated the most questionable sayings of the preacher; they warned Job against being righteous overmuch, they hinted that no man is really much better than his neighbours; they told him that time and chance happen to all, that affliction does come forth of the dust, and trouble does spring out of the ground, that one event happeneth to all, and God's judgments are far above, out of our sight. The point of view of ungodly, not unkindly, common sense is never difficult to reach. It is of course certain that if Job replied to them in xxvii. 7 sqq. his friends had not said what they say in iv.-xxv.; we can only guess what they had said. Apart from this enough of the older book is left to enable us to form an idea of its spirit. The writer does his best to make us realise the situation of the Job of the prologue, and enter into his thoughts and feelings. He is the typical Arab chief; the greatest of the children of the East, lord of many flocks and herds which range round the Arab city, of which we may call him as we please, the prince or the leading citizen. He does not appear to be exercised by the problem of human suffering in general, or by the prosperity of sinners, which he accounts for in the orthodox Old Testament fashion. Their downfall is sure, and their present prosperity only makes it more terrible when it comes. His one concern is the contrast between his well-deserved, well-employed prosperity in the past and his abject misery in the present. He complains bitterly of God, Who has given him for a laughing stock to the vagabonds of the wilderness, too low, too good for nothing to be admitted to his service in the days of his bountiful abundance, Who torments him with strange pains, Who is deaf to his complaints, Who coldly watches him as he dies by slow degrees. Yet to the last he protests his innocence; he even seems to delight himself after the inner man in the law which condemns

the sins from which he has kept himself. His one desire is that God, instead of smiting him in silence would accuse him, would bring a charge against him that he could answer, then he is sure beforehand of complete victory.

To this overbold challenge we have a complete answer in the Voice from the Tempest. Job believes that God is a righteous Judge, but his own judgment has been taken away. God, in His dealing, with him, seems not a judge, but a persecutor; in his astonishment at this his soul is filled with bitterness, till he forgets the immense interval between the creature and the Creator. He is put to silence at once when God causes all His glory to pass before him. Part of the lesson of the display is certainly that God is the God of nature as well as of man. The poet who heard the words of God, and saw the vision of the Almighty, dwells with special complacency, not only on the clouds and the stars and the seasons, all ruled by a power and wisdom so far beyond man, but on the bountiful provision for wild creatures of all kinds, which have no need of man, and are of no use to him; the wild asses and the wild cattle fare no worse than their tame companions; the ostrich does not suffer for neglect of her brood. The war-horse is almost a wild creature, like the rest; Job had no horses; "the children of the East" are conceived as a peaceful, pastoral race of herdsmen and travelling merchants, to whom the war-horse is a strange, outlandish monster.

When Job has made his submission, his vindication and restoration follow of course. The solution (if we are to speak of a problem) is quite simple and satisfactory. Job is not as yet the representative of suffering humanity; he is simply a righteous, prosperous man, tried, to prove whether he had the spirit of a hireling, and through every trial holding fast to righteousness. There can be no reason why, when he has stood the test, the normal relations be-

tween prosperity and righteousness should not be restored.

We cannot now recover the structure and connection of this old book; xxxi. does not profess like xxvii. or xxix. to contain the beginning of a fresh speech, yet it does not appear as it stands to be the sequel of either xxvii. or xxx. Again, have either xxxi. or xl., xli. reached us as they were first written? Many have thought the singular delicacy of conscience ascribed to the patriarch in xxxi. one of the fruits of the Spirit, which ripen late; the parenthesis in v. 30 stands almost alone in the Old Testament; it is a sin to curse an enemy and to ask his life; in Proverbs xxiv. 27 the reason for not exulting at an enemy's misfortune is that the exultation may displease God and lead Him to spare the enemy; in Proverbs xxv. 21, rendering good for evil is a refined form of vengeance; the nearest approach is 1 Samuel xii. 23, where Samuel, though wounded by the ingratitude of Israel, cannot cease to intercede without sin. Budde and Driver follow Cornill in thinking this passage older than Jeremiah.

The whole chapter is exceedingly impressive; so are many buildings different parts of which were built at different times in different styles. Without irreverence to the "inspiration of selection" which guided the compiler, if there was one, we may ask whether the chapter as it stands is composite or homogeneous? To begin with, is "I made a covenant with mine eyes, why then should I think upon a maid?" quite of a piece with "If my heart hath been deceived by a woman" and the curse which follows? Would not the writer of v. 1 rather have felt with the apostle that such things should not even be named among saints? Is the curse itself of a piece with the reflection in vv. 11, 12? Can we imagine the same poet, who makes Job imprecate upon himself a *providential* punishment, going on to give as a reason that such crimes are justly punished

by human law? It is certainly natural to think that vv. 9, 10 belong to one stratum of thought, and vv. 11, 12 to another. We have a parallel to the latter in vv. 26-28 (if we left out v. 28 only, vv. 26, 27 would still interrupt the natural connection between 25 and 29). We have parallels to the former in vv. 7, 8 (or, according to Dillmann, vv. 5, 7, 8); 21, 22, 38, 40; in all the structure is symmetrical, the imprecation follows close on the hypothetical sin; except in vv. 7, 8, the imprecation is obviously appropriate, then again in vv. 16-20 and 24, 25, 29-34 we have a string of hypothetical clauses with no apodosis except an occasional parenthesis; did the symmetrical imprecations ever belong to one draft of Job's final protest and the hypothetical clauses to another, where perhaps all depended on something like v. 6: "Let God know . . . if . . . if?" Again, when we turn from form to substance, vv. 16, 17, 19, 20, and 31, 32 are perplexingly alike; if the whole chapter were written continuously by one poet, why were they not combined? Why were 31, 32 inserted in another context? Of course the compiler may have strung together pearls from more speeches of Job than one; this would still leave the question open, whether vv. 1; 11, 12; 26-28 were as old as the rest of the chapter; as vv. 26-28 almost certainly refer to the law of Deuteronomy xvii. 3-7, v. 11 probably refers to Deuteronomy too.

When we turn to xl.-xlii. 6, difficulties multiply; it is plausible to say with Dillmann, that since Job has challenged God's righteousness God's answer ought not to consist simply in a display of His power, that xl. 7-14 are in a sense required after xxxviii., xxxix. Job (xxix. 12) delivered the poor when he cried; but is he like God, Who smites the wicked all over the world with His thunder? He fed the widow and the fatherless; is he like God, Who feeds all the wild creatures of the wilderness? Again, though to a western reader xl. 1, 2 seem quite superfluous,

perhaps Job could not have presumed to answer God without being expressly called upon; but even so it is utterly inexplicable why, after he has made his submission, he is not allowed to rest in it; why he should be challenged to gird up his loins like a man for another contest; yet it is quite clear that in xl. 6, 7 we have a fresh beginning. Besides, if a special display of the Divine Justice was required, ought it not to have been on the same scale as the display of the Divine Power? xl. 7-14 might easily be by the poet of xxxviii., xxxix., but without deciding the possibly irreverent question, whether the detailed catalogue of the appearance of Behemoth and Leviathan be worthy of him, it is obvious that they are in quite a different style from the rapid and vivid pictures of the earlier speech. On the other hand, if we summarise xl. 7, xli. we get what seems a coherent and adequate framework. Can Job rule and thunder like God? if he can, let him try; then his own right hand may save him; if not, let him look at two of God's creatures, each too mighty for man; as an argument this seems, to a western reader at least, as relevant as that of the earlier speech. Is it possible that xl. 7-xli. are the work of a poet who thought xxxviii., xxxix. rather splendid than convincing? Is it possible that he found the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan ready to his hand and took, with or without change, as much as he wanted, and that a scribe (to whom we ought to be grateful) added the rest? If so, of course the speech of the Almighty ends with xli. 10, 11:—

None is so fierce that dare stir him up:
 Who then is able to contend with Me?
 Who hath first given to me that I should repay?
 Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine.

If the description is to be continued, these two verses interrupt it, but they close it impressively. It is quite astounding that any poet should make any god say, "I will

give a detailed description of my own work"; is it conceivable that a Hebrew poet should make the true God say this in v. 12? ¹

On the other hand vv. 12-34 or 13-34 seem to be part of the original description of Leviathan. "He is the chief of the ways of God," which is said of Behemoth xl. 19, is just like "He is a king over all the children of pride," said (xli. 34) of Leviathan; the former, like xli. 12, is, if we may say so, out of place in the mouth of God; the next half of xl. 19 is very difficult. "He that made him provideth him with his sword" is so far fetched as a description of the eye-tusks of the hippopotamus that Studer tries to get the sense of A.V. out of the Hebrew. "Nur sein Schöpfer bringt ihm den Tod." The Septuagint reading is tempting:—

He is the chief of the ways of God,
Which is made for Him to play with.

This is quite unobjectionable in itself: if a psalmist (iv. 26) speaks of Leviathan as God's plaything, so may a wise man (though hardly God) speak of Behemoth. It is strange that Hebraists who adopt the reading of LXX. in v. 19 do not go on to correct v. 20 by Psalm i. 10-12: if Behemoth be God's plaything, the mountains may furnish His table,

¹ We do not get rid of our difficulties by rewriting vv. 9-12 after LXX. :—

"Behold his hope is belied:
Will he fight against Mine appearing?
He is not so bold as to stir Me up:
Who, indeed, could stand before Me?
Who ever attacks Me in safety?
All beneath the whole heaven is Mine.
I will not take his babbling in silence,
His mighty speech and its comely arrangement";

and placing them before xxxviii. 2. If the critics who propose this arrangement are right, some scribe must have thrown his thoughts of the contrast between Job's challenge and the crushing answer to it into the form of a soliloquy of the Most High, which, if regarded as part of the text, does not fit the situation (for Job has been so bold, xxxi. 85-87, as to stir up God to answer him) while here too v. 12 hardly becomes the dignity of the Speaker.

and mountains are not the ordinary haunts of Behemoth. If v. 24, as Dillmann supposes, is a description (probably corrupt) of the way the hippopotamus was caught, it will be clear that the description of Behemoth was in the main written for itself, not for its place in the book of Job. No part of Hebrew literature is likely to have suffered greater losses than the words of the wise and their dark sayings. As we see from "the burden of Agur," they were not always orthodox: perhaps what has been lost contained many parallels to the boldest things in Job and the Preacher. If there be anything in the conjecture, which no Hebraist of authority has sanctioned, that the Hebrew text of Job was very greatly enlarged after the original translation of the LXX. was made, the additions were probably made by scribes who added parallel passages from the older literature: the description of the ostrich, xxxix. 13 sqq., is less obviously relevant than that of the wild ass, but both may very well be taken from the same series of poems, though only the latter has been worked into its place.

Whatever changes from the original text we may discern or suspect in these parts of the book of Job, it is still clear that the writer is engaged in working out two correlative ideas of Job's innocence and God's majesty: his conscious innocence leads him to challenge God's justice in afflicting him; then the display of God's majesty convinces him that the challenge is misplaced, and he sinks into submission and is rewarded by complete restoration.

Now it is very remarkable that both these ideas are assumed from beginning to end of iv.-xxvi., xxviii. Job repeatedly insists quite as strongly as the three friends upon God's majesty; their position is not so much that Job's afflictions prove him to be a sinner above others, but that no man can be really righteous before God. Hence Eliphaz, who is probably meant to have more spiritual insight than the others, states at the beginning of his last

speech that Job, if ever so innocent, could have no claim upon God ; on the other hand, Bildad (viii. 6, 7) contemplates at least the possibility of Job's being pure and upright, while Job for his own part starts with plaintive submission ; the utmost he ventures at first is a wish to make supplication unto his judge. This is exactly the attitude to which he has been reduced by God's answer. If we read the speeches of Eliphaz apart from Job's replies, he seems to promise Job exactly the issue of his trials which is reached in the Epilogue : ¹ if he will trust in God and humble himself before Him, his prosperity shall be renewed, and he shall be a prevailing intercessor, and Bildad and even Zophar promise the like. This is just what we should expect if a later poet had taken up the high argument at the point to which an earlier had raised it. The theory that it is the main concern of the three friends to justify God by convincing Job that his calamities are deserved may easily be overpressed. Certainly it is part of the intention of the poet to convict the three friends (as representatives of the orthodoxy of his day) of speaking deceitfully for God and accepting His Person, but it is only incidentally that this leads them to be unjust to Job ; they begin to slander him when he proves to them that their comfortable optimism is unreal. Certainly too the writer is upon Job's side upon the whole, but (possibly for the very reason that Job is the mouthpiece of the bitterness of his own heart) he distrusts his own sympathies, and takes pains to do full justice to the theodicy he is criticising.

That theodicy is in the main the theodicy of the psalter, with some important differences. The psalmists dwell rightly on the inward delight in God which makes His

¹ The Epilogue seems to be presupposed at vi. 22, where Job asks if he had appealed to his friends to give him money in his trouble, which all of his friends actually do in the Epilogue, as a natural if not indispensable step towards the restoration of his prosperity.

favoured saints independent of circumstances, but they say nothing of the martyr's or ascetic's spiritual joy in the midst of physical anguish; and the former topic would be irrelevant for the consolation of Job, whose flesh and spirit are writhing in the tortures of a loathsome disease. In another matter Zophar (xx. *passim*) seems to go beyond the psalmists: not only is the triumphing of the wicked short, but he has no real enjoyment of it while it lasts. Another contrast is more important: it would be possible to point to not a few psalms, where the feeling, and even the remembrance, of guilt seems to have faded away in the light of the Lord; but, as has been said, it is common ground between Job and his friends that all men are in a very real sense miserable sinners. Hence the question of Job's relative innocence is only a part, and not the most important part, of the question between him and them. In the first cycle of speeches, they really make an honest attempt to comfort him with the promise that God, Who delivers the righteous out of the afflictions which even they deserve, will deliver him, if he takes his trouble in the right spirit. In the second cycle, when he rejects their consolation, they threaten him with the destruction which overtakes the wicked and brings their seeming prosperity to a sudden terrible end.¹ In the third cycle Eliphaz plainly and expressly charges Job with the common sins of rich men, and invites him

¹ In the ordinary view it is very startling that Job does not reply till xxxi. to Eliphaz' indictment in xxii., while it is natural enough that the last speech of Eliphaz, in what we may call the second book of Job should correspond to the last speech of Job in the first. If one compares xxii. 9 with xxxi. 16, 21, 22, one or other is certainly derivative, and the last hemistich of xxii. 9, "And the arms of the fatherless have been broken" is more intelligible as an allusion to xxxi. 21, 22, than as the original from which the latter have been expanded. Again in xxix. 25 Job sums up the account of his past prosperity—

"I dwelt as a king in the army,
As one that comforteth the mourners."

Is there not a reference to this in the opening speech of Eliphaz iv. 3, 4, where Job is reproached, not untenderly, for failing to comfort himself as he has comforted others.

(xxii. 24, 25, R.V.) to cast away what remains of his earthly treasure (the prologue leaves Job a beggar) that he may find true and lasting riches in friendship with God.

In the first cycle of speeches Job seems much less concerned to assert that his sufferings are undeserved than that they are irremediable; he returns to this again and again: more than once, especially in xiv., he seems to complain not only of his personal lot but of human life as a whole. Men are miserable sinners in a miserable world; considering what they are and what life is, there is something unfair, he seems to say, in the very notion of a moral government. Is it really worthy of the majesty of the Most High to enter into judgment with such creatures?—to use omniscience to detect their frailties and omnipotence to punish them? As a fact, God's severity, he says, is, so far as we can see, indiscriminate. "If the scourge slay suddenly, He will laugh at the trial of the innocent." "If I be wicked, woe unto me; and if I be righteous, yet must I not lift up my head." This is not at all the temper of chapters xxvii. and xxxi. There Job is confident both of God's judgment upon the world in general and of his own innocence, though he cannot reconcile the two. Nor again is his complaint in chapters xxix., xxx., so full of despair as it is from chapter iii. onwards. In all Job's speeches up to xxvi. he desires two things—that God will either destroy him at once or leave him alone for a little to rest,—that instead of striking blow after blow out of the darkness He will declare what specially He has against Job. Again and again he prays God not to make him afraid with His terror, which is just what we should expect for a poet who thought the solution in chapters xli. and xlii. inadequate. When Job challenges the Almighty at the end of xxxi., a display of majesty and terror might seem for the moment answer enough. But Job in chapter ix. knows already all that he is taught in xxxviii. sqq.: ix. 4, 12, xxvi. 4, 14, contain praises of the mysterious power of God

quite as sublime as anything uttered by the Voice from the Tempest. Indeed it might be a question whether the words, that the later poet puts into the mouth of Job, and even Bildad, are not deeper in a sense than those which an older poet put into the mouth of the Almighty. Job has heard, "Dominion and fear are with Him; He maketh peace in His high places. Is there any number of His armies, and upon whom doth not His light arise?" He has said "He is wise in heart and mighty in strength. Who hath hardened himself against Him and prospered, which removeth the mountains and they know not, which overturneth them in His anger, which shaketh the earth in her place, and the pillars thereof tremble; which commandeth the sun and it riseth not, and sealeth up the stars; which alone spreadeth out the heavens and treadeth on the waves of the sea." Again, "Hell is naked before Him and destruction hath no covering. He stretcheth out the north over the empty place and hangeth the earth upon nothing. The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at His reproof. Lo these are the outskirts of His ways, and how small a whisper is heard of Him! But the thunders of His power who can understand?" Is it the same Job who says, after a wider though not more awful panorama has been unrolled in the last chapters, "I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee." When one compares the homage to the Divine majesty in iii.-xxvi. with the display of it in xxxviii.-xli., one is reminded of the contrast between Vergil and Homer: there the earlier poet is vivid and copious; he can abandon himself to his inspiration; the later selects and refines, yet he thrills us as deeply and rises as high.

If we separate iii.-xxvi. from xxvii. and xxix. sqq., we have a very complete criticism of the orthodox Hebrew theodicy. The solution which appears in Psalm lxxiii. as a fresh and satisfactory revelation, something beyond the power of unassisted thought, has been tried and seems to be

found wanting. To die like all men, suddenly, in the midst of a course of insolent prosperity, is no adequate punishment for the wicked; the sight of such a judgment is no compensation to the righteous and the poor for a lifetime of suffering. Again, the idea of family solidarity which we find in the Psalms, *e.g.* xxii. 29, 30, is discarded in Job xxi. 21. "What concern hath he in his house after him when the number of his months is cut off?" xi. 21: "His sons come to honour and he knoweth it not. And they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them."

If we look for a religious element in Job's speeches, probably we should find it in his growing desire to speak to the Almighty and reason with God. At first we may say he seems, like the three friends, to be almost paralysed by his own reverence; he repeats again and again that he, like all men, is a sinner before God; he complains, "Why dost not Thou pardon my transgression and take away my iniquity?" Afterwards, when his friends exasperate him with their unreal descriptions of God's unfailing protection of the righteous and His unfailing destruction of the wicked, the thought seems to force itself upon him that God is true and must know the truth. Hence, though God puts his feet in the stocks, looks narrowly into all his paths; though He has taken him by the neck, and set him up for His mark, though He cleaves his reins asunder and does not spare (here again we may ask, is this the language of one who has only heard by the hearing of the ear, or of one who is actually writhing under the hand of Him Who maketh darkness His secret place?), he can still protest, "Behold my witness is in heaven, and my record is on high." He is confident that His Redeemer liveth, that in some sense (it is well known that Hebraists are still divided as to both text and rendering) he will see God. He is quite certain that God will vindicate him against his accusers, even though He allows sinners to prosper. From this point of view, chapter xxviii. seems

the natural sequel of xxvi., and the close of the whole discussion. After the righteous man has faced the facts of human life at their worst and held fast his own integrity, and appealed in every tone for a solution of his perplexity to Him Who hideth Himself, Who giveth no account of any of His matters, what is left but a solemn proclamation that God and God only knows the answer to the riddle? If theodicy breaks down in the presence of facts, it is possible to find some rest in the belief that God knows everything, though man can know nothing but duty. The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be, Who can understand the thunder of God's power? for though man can find his way to the secret treasures of earth, he cannot in life or death find his way to the hiding place of wisdom, which is only known to Him. The Hebrew tragedy, after stirring us to passionate sympathy, like the Greek, leaves us like the Greek in a hush of helpless awestruck calm.

Greek piety did not always find such a close satisfactory. Sometimes it demanded and obtained the intervention of a god from a machine. The speeches of Elihu prove that to ordinary Hebrew piety such a close seemed dangerous. If we suppose that Elihu is replying to Job's closing protestation of integrity, it is strange that he ignores it so completely; he is absolutely confident that Job is a sinner, and the worst of sinners, because he denies the penalties of sin: he was bound therefore to take some notice of the speech, in which Job claims in detail to have kept from sin and followed after righteousness, if it was part of the text which the author who speaks in his name intended to supplement. The speeches of Elihu are full of references to iii.-xxvi.; we find no clear references to xxix.-xxxi. If we read the book as a whole, it is hard to see what Elihu has to say that Eliphaz has not said already, or that God is not to say when He speaks from the tempest. If we read the speeches of Elihu as a supplement to iii.-xxvi., xxviii., they cease

to seem superfluous. While he expands the strong topics upon which Eliphaz just touches once or twice, that man can have no claim upon the Divine majesty, and that suffering may be a profitable discipline, he adds to this a not ineffective appeal to the goodness shown in creation, and he drops the questionable contention of the three friends, that men are living under an obviously equitable scheme of rewards and punishments. He does not deal in promises of prosperity. God, according to him, is revealed as One Who brings the poor out of misery, Who preserves the life of man from the pit. The course of the world is what it is, we have no right to ask why; all our wisdom is to know that by turning humbly and trustfully to God when we are smitten, we may pass through its troubles safely and peacefully, in a temper of cheerful penitence. If Elihu does not explain life any better than Bildad and Zophar, at any rate he does not misrepresent it as they do. Very few of us are tried like Job. Have those who are not, any right to question the judgment of a canonical writer, that Elihu is in some ways a better guide to the temper in which to meet ordinary troubles?

A few words may be added on questions of literary chronology. If iii.-xxvi., xxviii., form a whole in themselves, the most probable date for them might be the reign of Zedekiah, if it be assumed with most expositors that Job is the mouthpiece partly of Israel partly of an afflicted saint who writes in his name. The eagerness that the worst should come at once, the impatient rejection of all promises of deliverance as insincere flattery, indeed as cruel mockery, both seem to suit the time when the remnant of Judah was cowering under the shadow of Babylon. Many who heard the prophecies of Jeremiah in the Chaldean period, must have felt his rare promises even more intolerable than his habitual threatenings; they too may have said in their heart,—

I loathe it : I would not live alway.
Let me alone, for my days are vanity.

The earth is given into the hand of the wicked.
He covereth the face of the judges thereof.

God hath delivered me to the ungodly,
And turned me over into the hands of the wicked,

They too may have had to hear :

Shall the earth be forsaken for thee,
And shall the rock be removed out of its place ?—

from those who still could find the familiar order of the world safe and satisfactory, who were still resting in short-sighted security that the overflowing scourge would pass by *them*. Those whose own sorrows open their eyes to the general misery are liable to be reproached for insensate pessimism.

It has often been observed that the praise of Wisdom in xxviii. has many analogies with the opening section of Proverbs: is there any need to regard it as later? It is clear from "the Burden of Agur" that the stage when learned ignorance seems the last word of wisdom was reached before the canon was closed, probably long before the book of the Preacher was written: in fact, these perplexities are already behind the preacher of wisdom, who asks,—Prov. viii. 1, 2:—

Doth not wisdom cry,
And understanding put forth her voice !
In the top of high places by the way,
In the place where paths meet she taketh her stand.

So are they behind the teacher of the Law, Deut. xxxii. 14 :
" This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who

shall go over the sea for us and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it?" Obviously all three teachers put forward practical duty as the answer to speculative perplexities. According to two of them, the answer is complete; according to the third, it is all that can be given; we have to make the best of it. Two of them speak to the people; the third speaks to the wise.

Elihu in xxxiv. 5 refers unmistakably to xxvii. 2 sqq.; hence it may be inferred that the older and the younger text had been already combined. The younger text was indeed a whole in itself, but there was the strongest inducement to add the magnificent poetry of the Voice from the Tempest, or at any rate to retain the old prologue and epilogue. This last alone made it necessary that Job should say what was right concerning God, and this he does in xxvii.; and though Elihu obviously does not recognise the epilogue, the writer who speaks in his name did not detect that xxvii. belonged to a different text. If we attempt to fix a date for the older text, the latest that presents itself (the parallels to the book of Balaam would tempt us to look further back) is the interval between Josiah's reformation and his death. Then no doubt more than one faithful and upright noble who had seen the worst days of Manasseh felt that his latter end was more blessed than his beginning. The speeches of Elihu were in all probability added in quiet times after the captivity.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SIMCOX.

SURVEY OF RECENT BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

New Testament study is once more indebted to the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund for the issue of yet another volume from the pen of the late Bishop of Durham. It is entitled *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from unpublished Commentaries*, and is issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. It contains notes on the Two Epistles to the Thessalonians, on the first seven chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, on a similar portion of the Epistle to the Romans, and on the first fourteen verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is only this last part of the volume which has been published precisely as it stands in the author's MS., because it alone had received his final revision for the press. The other commentaries contained in this volume are printed from notes taken of the lectures delivered at Cambridge by Dr. Lightfoot, after being compared with his own original draft. But while it is true that the most valuable portion of the volume is on this account the fifteen pages on *Ephesians*, it will not be imagined that little value attaches to the remainder. In point of fact the volume as a whole is of the highest value. It gives us many of those careful ascertainment of the meaning of N.T. terms which make Bishop Lightfoot's commentaries so acceptable. And although in the Commentary on Thessalonians we sadly miss the essays in which the author would have discussed such passages as that on the Man of Sin, yet the notes, especially on the First Epistle, are copious and helpful. Any student who uses the Index of Greek words—which however might be fuller—will find that in this volume he has a definite addition to his knowledge of the Greek Testament.

To Prof. W. M. Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (vol. 1., The Lycos Valley and South-western Phrygia—the Clarendon Press), it is impossible to do justice in this notice. We can do little more than chronicle the appearance of the first volume of a work which will as a matter of course at once take its place as the standard authority on the subject. The second volume, which proposes to deal with the growth of Christianity in Phrygia, will no doubt interest a wider circle of readers, but in this first volume Prof. Ramsay gives us an exhaustive description of the localities and their history, which is a model of its kind. Any history of Phrygia as a whole was precluded by the fact that from a remote period no true unity has existed in that country. Moreover the authorities are few and meagre. "In such circumstances all that

can be done is to parcel the land into districts whose geographical situation imposes on them a certain unity, to collect all the information that can be gleaned from the authors, from inscriptions and monuments, from the survival of names and religious facts in modern times, and from other such scanty sources, and to interpret these in the light of the geographical and national conditions." Accordingly, we find in this volume a full account of the situation, the government, the trade, the religion, the buildings of the cities and districts of south-western Phrygia. The extraordinary mastery of detail which astonished the reader of Prof. Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* is equally conspicuous in his present work. One does not know whether most to admire his untiring energy and industry or the felicity of the suggestions which nothing but genius for this species of work could enable him to make. He has produced a great work whose merits will be acknowledged by experts. Those who are not experts will find many plums by merely turning over the pages with an eye to their own tastes or needs, and every one should look at the book if only to understand the kind of work which English, or may we say Scottish, scholars are actually producing.

A valuable addition to New Testament literature is made by Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sc., in his *Sources of N.T. Greek* (T. & T. Clark). Dr. Kennedy's chief purpose is to ascertain with precision the relation of N.T. Greek to the language of the LXX., and of both to the colloquial language. In pursuance of this purpose he has examined with great care the history of individual words and the results of his investigation are given in several statistical tables. There are linguistic phenomena brought out which will probably surprise scholars who have not given so much attention to the subject as Dr. Kennedy, and his general conclusions also modify some current opinions. The book is indispensable to any one who wishes to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language of the New Testament.

Attention may also be called to two theses by Rev. Myron Winslow Adams, M.A., on *St. Paul's Vocabulary* and *St. Paul as a Former of Words* (Hartford Seminary Press, Conn., U.S.A.). These theses are published together and furnish useful lists of Paul's words with notices of their occurrence in other writers. An attempt is made to ascertain what words St. Paul may be supposed to have created.

A second edition of Prof. Ryle's *Canon of the Old Testament* has been issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. It must continue to hold

the place it immediately won as the unrivalled text-book on this subject. It is learned, judicious, and interesting. It gives a full and satisfactory history of the process by which the canon was gradually formed. At some points this history is obscure, but where ascertained fact fails the enquirer, and conjecture must fill the blank, Prof. Ryle commands confidence by the sanity of his suggestions. The book is the work of one who evidently understands both history and literature, and it cannot be read without conveying juster conceptions of the life of Israel and of the connection between the life and the literature of any people. Let it be understood that Prof. Ryle's work is not a mere text-book, but is itself brilliant with flashes of insight and suggestion—a book to read for its own sake.

Another standard work of recent date on *The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament*, that by Prof. Wildeboer, of Groningen, has been rendered available for English readers by the diligence of Dr. B. W. Bacon (Luzac & Co.). Both in method and in form Prof. Wildeboer's work differs from that of Prof. Ryle. The German system of paragraphs with explanatory and confirmatory notes is adopted, so that it serves rather the purposes of a book of reference than invites continuous reading. Prof. Ryle narrates the history of the canonization of the first, second, and third divisions of the Old Testament; Prof. Wildeboer examines the Old Testament, the Jewish-Greek literature, the New Testament, the Talmud, and the Christian Fathers, to find evidence for the existence and growth of the canon. The conclusions reached are mostly, although not in every case, the same; and the two books are useful as modifying and confirming one another's statements. Perhaps there is a greater accumulation of authorities in the Hollander's book, but Prof. Ryle's will meet most satisfactorily the wants of the majority of readers.

The literal accuracy of Scripture still continues to be contested, and Mr. John Urquhart appears as an advocate of *The Inspiration and Accuracy of the Holy Scriptures* (Marshall Brothers). Mr. Urquhart rather prejudices his reader against him by speaking somewhat contemptuously of the "higher critics," and arguing as if they had some interest in finding the books of Scripture not genuine. He has something to learn in regard to the temper in which such investigations should be conducted. Nor does he, at any point, advance the argument in favour of the literal inerrancy of the Bible. Indeed, he seems scarcely to apprehend

what is claimed by those who deny it, or what is needful if their position is to be assailed successfully. But while Mr. Urquhart fails to contribute anything of importance to this discussion, he succeeds, in the second half of his volume, in removing some of the historical difficulties which have attached to *Daniel* and other books of Scripture. His facts have, of course, been public property for a year or two, but his application of them is his own, and is well worthy of consideration. In this part of his volume, also, he is somewhat too jubilant, and it is doubtful whether his readers will share in his belief that he has finally disposed of all the linguistic and historical difficulties in *Daniel*. Sometimes he makes a dangerous use of the supposition that there have been errors in transcription, sometimes he is content to fall back simply on the authority of Lenormant. But it is well to have the conservative side of the question put vigorously. This is also done by Dr. Huntingford in his *Daniel and St. John* (Bickers & Son). The other side of the question is put with much confidence by Dean Farrar in his volume on *The Book of Daniel* contributed to *The Expositor's Bible* (Hodder and Stoughton). Unfortunately there are evidences of haste in misprints and careless sentences. The Dean's arithmetic is also gravely at fault on p. 10, and he seems to give scarcely sufficient weight to some of the recently discovered evidence. The volume, however, is written with great animation, and brings before the reader a large accumulation of facts and ideas.

To the same series Prof. Bennett contributes a volume on the latter half of *Jeremiah*, while Prof. Adeney has dealt with *The Song of Solomon* and *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*. Both volumes read well, are full of information and will help the series.

Dr. Joseph Parker may be congratulated on the issue of the completing volume of *The People's Bible*.

The critical questions regarding the Old Testament books continue to engage the attention of many writers. Dr. Douglas, of Glasgow, has issued through Messrs. James Nisbet & Co. *Isaiah One and his Book One*, in which all that can be advanced in favour of the unity of *Isaiah* is urged.—In the excellent series of Books for Bible Students issued by the Wesleyans (Charles H. Kelly, publisher), *The Age and Authorship of the Pentateuch* are dealt with by the Rev. William Spiers, M.A. This gives a full survey of the argument in defence, and has been carefully prepared.

Those who care to see a novel translation and an equally novel exposition of some interesting parts of the Old Testament may turn to Prof. Dillon's *Sceptics of the Old Testament*: Job, Koheleth, Agur. Even those who distrust Prof. Dillon's textual emendations may learn much from his brilliant exposition.

We have also received *The History of the English Church and People in South Africa*, by A. Theodore Wirgmann, B.D., D.C.L. (Longmans, Green & Co.); *A Handbook for Welsh Church Defence*, by the Bishop of St. Asaph (Macmillan & Co.); *Short Notes on the Book of Joshua*, by the Rev. W. G. Whittam, M.A. (Relfe Brothers); *Some Titles and Aspects of the Eucharist*, by E. S. Talbot, D.D., [late] Vicar of Leeds (Rivington, Percival & Co.); *Three Divine Sisters*: Thoughts on the Trinity of Graces, by Robert Tuck, B.A. (Alexander & Shephard); *The Teachers' Prayer and How it was Answered*, by Mrs. Zillah Dugdale (Elliot Stock); *In Jersey and Elsewhere*, by W. H. Macdonald (Glasgow, Robert Anderson); *The Christian Traveller's Continental Handbook*, edited by Rev. George H. Giddins; seventh edition (Elliot Stock); *The Roll-call of Faith, and other Sermons*, a vigorous volume, by Duncan Campbell, B.D., Minister of St. Matthew's, Edinburgh (David Douglas); a second edition of the Rev. S. A. Tipple's striking and original sermons, named *Sunday Mornings at Norwood* (H. R. Allenson). The same publisher also issues new editions of two brilliant books by the late Phillips Brooks, *The Influence of Jesus*, and *Lectures on Preaching*.—A memorial volume of the lamented Dr. A. J. Gordon, of Boston, is published by the Baptist Tract and Book Society, and contains a spiritual Autobiography entitled *How Christ came to Church*. The same publishers also issue Dr. Gordon's latest work, *The Ministry of the Spirit*, in which there is much that is valuable and freshly put. The same Society issues an able and interesting apologetic for Christianity by Dr. George C. Lorimer, of Boston, entitled *The Argument for Christianity*. A book of this kind, which gives a general and readable survey of the whole argument, was much wanted. They also publish Dr. Kendrick's *Moral Conflict of Humanity*, an unfortunate title, because the volume is really a collection of scholarly and wise interpretations of difficult New Testament passages.—Mr. Elliot Stock publishes *Dangerous Deceits*, an examination of the 31st Church of England Article, by Rev. N. Dimock, A.M., in which the author with unusual learning expounds

the Protestant attitude towards the Mass. The Rev. J. D. W. Worden discusses with pungency and sense the question whether the man of the world or the man of God is the more attractive character. His little book is named *Whether of the Twain*, and is published by J. A. Thompson & Co., of Liverpool.

May we remind our readers that in every number of *The Critical Review*, *The Biblical World*, *The Classical Review*, *The Revue Biblique Internationale*, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* and the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, they will find articles interesting to the Biblical student and too important to be overlooked without loss?

Of second editions, Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have sent us their re-issue, in the "Eversley" form, of the late Prof. Seeley's *Natural Religion* (4th edition), and *The Expansion of England*, which has been reprinted nine times.—Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. reprint from the second volume of the late Prof. T. H. Green's Philosophical works, his *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*. These lectures are edited by Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, who considers that they form the best conceivable text-book for instruction in political theory.—Of great value is the second revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Waddy's *Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Revised Version* (Charles H. Kelly)—a most convenient and trustworthy harmony.—Attention may especially be called to the issue of a second edition of Dr. John Laidlaw's standard work on *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, or, *The Anthropology and Psychology of Scripture*. This book has long held its place as the most reasonable discussion of the difficult anthropological problems which emerge in Scripture; and it is now entirely recast and improved in form. The lecture-form in which the volume first appeared has been discarded and the more convenient division into chapters has been adopted. It is greatly to be desired that this improvement in form may help to promote the circulation of a scholarly, wise, and useful book.—Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. issue a second edition of Canon Fremantle's Bampton Lectures on *The World as the Subject of Redemption*.

MARCUS DODS.

*ON THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF ST. MARK'S
GOSPEL.*

1. I HAVE been invited by the editor of the *EXPOSITOR* to criticise the views put forward by leading German critics as to the significance to be attached to my discovery of a tenth century Armenian MS. of the Gospels in the library of Edschmiadzin, in which the disputed final verses of Mark are attributed in a rubric which heads them to a certain Ariston Eritzou or Ariston Presbyter. This discovery I announced in these pages, and more recently I made a translation, which also appeared in the *EXPOSITOR*, of what Prof. Zahn and Dr. Resch had recently written on the subject. But before I approach the discussion of their views, I may be allowed to lay before my readers such further information about these disputed verses as the Armenian MSS. furnish.

2. And to begin with, it is of no small importance to fix the date at which the version of these twelve verses was made. The Armenian version of the Gospel was probably complete in its present form about the year 400; though I believe that its first inception was much earlier. If we think how versions of the Bible first arose, this will appear the more probable. Thus we find in our libraries early Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures which are glossed between the lines with Celtic and other versions. The vernacular equivalents are in such MSS. simply written in a small hand underneath the Greek or Latin words to which they correspond. The next step would be to copy out these interlinear glosses in a book by them-

selves or on a separate page opposite the original; and so we should get exactly such a literal rendering as we have in the old Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and other renderings of the New Testament. In the Codex Bezae we have the Greek and Latin thus written on opposite pages. It would be quite consistent with analogy, if we suppose the Armenian rendering of the Scriptures to have thus originated; and it would explain its extreme literalness if it thus grew up gradually out of interlinear glosses, written of course in Greek or Syriac characters. For the existing Armenian alphabet was not used, at any rate for writing Christian books, much before the beginning of the fifth century of our era.

8. Did then the last twelve verses of Mark belong to the Armenian version of the Gospel as it stood after the final revision of Mesrop early in the fifth century?

Here is one question; and here is another which treads closely upon its heels, namely:

Why did the Armenians, having had these verses in their original Bible, afterwards erase them from it, so that the earliest text in which we find them is the Edschmiadzin copy of A.D. 989, in which their attribution to Ariston the the Elder or Presbyter actually occurs?

Now the first of these questions must be answered with a yes. The twelve verses were certainly part of the original Armenian version of the Gospel. The proofs are these:

Eznik, a fifth century Father of the Armenian Church, knew of these twelve verses; and in his first book on *Heresies*, p. 89 of the Venice edition, we get vv. 17 and 18 quoted almost verbatim in a way that proves that he had in his hands the same Armenian version which survives to-day. Eznik was a fellow-worker with S. Sahak and S. Mesrop, and must have made this citation A.D. 420-430.

In the second place we find plentiful citation of these twelve verses in the Armenian version of the Acts of Pilate,

and this version of the Acts of Pilate, which is given in two Paris codices of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, must be almost as early as the sixth century. For the style in which it is composed precludes any other judgment. Now in it Mark xvi. 15-19 are cited according to the established Armenian version or Vulgate text, as we find it in the tenth century Armenian codex of Edschmiadzin, and in any other manuscripts of the Armenian Bible or Gospels which may happen to contain it.

Either of these grounds would by itself prove that the twelve verses were part of the fifth century Armenian version. Taken together they prove the point conclusively.

4. An examination, moreover, of old copies of the Armenian Gospels amply bears out this statement. In the Mechitarist library in the island of San Lazaro at Venice, is a codex of the Gospels dated A.D. 902, by consequence nearly a hundred years earlier than the Edschmiadzin copy. In this codex verse 8 ends the second column of a verso. The same marginal writing was continued on the recto side of the next folio, but there is not more of it than would amount to verses 9-13. It is, however, too obliterated to be read without chemical treatment. I examined it carefully, and satisfied myself that the writing so erased was *not* any part of the twelve verses—a very curious and important fact. There is too much of it for it to have been the alternative ending of Mark found in the Greek uncial codex L. Perhaps the scribe herein gave his reasons for omitting the last twelve verses. The verso side of the folio is left blank, and the entire pericope could hardly have been contained even on both sides.

In an Armenian codex of the four Gospels belonging to the Bodleian library and dated 1304, the scribe seems to have originally written the last twelve verses in the second column of the recto of fol. 141, and in both of the verso, but to have himself afterwards effaced them, adding the last

line of verse 8 at the bottom of the right-hand column of the recto side of fol. 141.

In more than one Armenian codex, where these verses occupied a folio by themselves, that folio has simply been cut out. In a 13th or 14th codex at San Lazaro in Venice there is prefixed to the verses the notice, "This is unauthentic." In the Bodleian Armenian codex of the four Gospels, dated A.D. 1335, a notice is prefixed as follows: "This is an addition." Many codices of the four Gospels, and also of the entire Bible, end the Gospel according to Mark at verse 8, and then after a space proceed with the twelve verses. This is so in the case of the oldest San Lazaro Bible, dated 1220, and of a Bible in the collection of Lord Zouche, later in date, but copied from an early archetype. In such cases the words, "The end of Mark (*or of Mark's Gospel*)" is added after v. 8.

The evidence of the Armenian lectionaries is only modern. The oldest one known, probably of the ninth century, an uncial codex of the Paris collection, does not give the lection Mark xvi. 9-20. We may hence infer that in the Armenian Church these verses were not read at that early time on Ascension Day in the Armenian as they were in other churches. However this may be, the lection in question has been usual ever since the twelfth century in the Armenian Church, and in Armenian MSS. written since that age one commonly finds the equivalent of "For Ascension Day" written against verse 9.

5. We may thus attribute the Armenian translation of these twelve verses to the beginning of the fifth century. The question remains: For what reason did the Armenians exclude from their Gospels a pericope which in most other churches passed unchallenged, and also constituted the lection for one of the greatest of the Christian feasts, namely, Ascension Day?

It will help us to answer this question, if we can ascer-

tain the reasons which led the Armenians to exclude certain other passages from their copies of the Gospels, which yet almost certainly were comprised in their earliest version.

6. Take we first the passage Luke xxii. 43-44. These are absent in many ancient copies, *e.g.*, in an uncial of at least the tenth century in a church at Tiflis, in the Moscow codex of A.D. 887, in the San Lazaro codex of A.D. 1006, in the Edschmiadzin codex of A.D. 989. In the San Lazaro codex of A.D. 902 alone is verse 44 preserved. Even it omits verse 43.

Yet these verses were part of the original Armenian version, and we know why and when they were omitted. For Theodore Chrtneavor, early in the eighth century, records that they had stood in the *first translation* of the New Testament, and that some heretics, called the Phantasiastæ, or Docetes, had cut them out; for it was deemed unworthy of the omnipotent Word of God to be in agony, and to sweat drops of blood, and to require an angel to reassure him. Tischendorf also, in his eighth edition, quotes old Greek authorities to the effect that the Armenian heretics had here mutilated the Scriptures; and St. Athanasius seems to have rowed in the same boat with these heretics, for, as Tischendorf remarks, "Quum sæpe posset adhibere non adhibuit." With good reason, for these two verses were the stronghold of Arius and his friends.

The reason for this omission was therefore doctrinal.

7. We have next to consider the episode of the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 1-11). This is absent from most old Armenian codices of the Gospels; *e.g.* from the two San Lazaro codices, written in 902 and 1006 respectively, from the Moscow codex of 887 A.D., and from the Tiflis codex. The Edschmiadzin codex of A.D. 989 is the only ancient codex of the Gospels which not only gives the episode, but gives it in its place; for, as we shall see,

Armenian codices of the entire Bible usually add it, but at the end of the Gospel. The form in which in this codex it is given is so truly remarkable that I venture to translate it. It immediately follows the words *οὐκ ἐγείρεται* of John vii. 52, and runs as follows :

"A certain woman was taken in sins (=malitiis), against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus (to see) what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer, and said, 'Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones and stone her to death (*lit. βάλλετε λίθους καὶ λιθοβολήτον ποιεῖτε*).' But he himself, bowing his head, was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And, filled with shame, they departed, and no one remained, but only the woman. Saith Jesus, 'Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written.'"

Against this pericope is written, by the first hand, in the margin, the title, "The things of the adulteress"—*τὰ τῆς μοιχαλίδος*. The same title is usually affixed in Armenian MSS. to the rival text of the episode. For in all other texts of the Armenian Bible the pericope is given in a form agreeing with the Greek text of Stephanus.¹ I have nowhere met with it in the more archaic form in which the Edschmiadzin codex gives it. One of the two distinctive features, however, of this more archaic form, the circumstance, namely, that their sins were written by Jesus on the stones, is preserved in some other sources, *e.g.*, in the uncial *U* which, after *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, in v. 8, adds: *ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας*. Also Jerome, *Pelag.*, 2, 17, writes thus: "Jesus inclinans digito, scribebat in terra, eorum uidelicet qui accusabant et omnium peccata mortalium, secundum quod scriptum est in propheta; *Relinquentes autem Te in terra scribentur*." Bar-Hebræus (see *Assem.*

¹ With the following insignificant changes: in v. 2 some texts omit *καθίσας*; v. 3 thus, *Ἄγουσιν ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα κατεῖλ. ἐν μοιχ. κ.τ.λ.*; v. 4 omit *αὐτῷ*; v. 5, after *λέγεις* add *περὶ αὐτῆς*; v. 9 omit *καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνευδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι*; v. 9, for *πρεσβυτέρων* read *πρώτων*; v. 10, *ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· ἡ γυνή, ποῦ κ.τ.λ.*; v. 11 omit *αὐτῇ*.

bibl. orient., 2, 170) mentions an Alexandrine codex which contained a similar account. No other source, however, than the Edschmiadzin MS. states that the accusers *saw* their sins in the *stones*, or that Jesus bade the woman make the offering prescribed in their law for sins. Jerome may have based his remark on the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he had in his hands.

Another important feature in the account, as given in this manuscript, is that it states that "a certain woman was taken in *sins* (in *malis* or in *malitiis* = *ἐν πονηροῖς*), and that they all bore witness against her. D has *ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ*.

Here we have an account closely related to that which Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, 3, 39) gives us from Papias. Of Papias he says, *ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει*. This passage in Eusebius has led critics to refer the entire episode to Papias as its author. In an Arm. MS. of San Lazaro, dated A.D. 1313, there is a scholion on this passage referring to Eusebius' history. Gregory of Narek, about 950, read the passage in its longer form as Stephanus' text gives it. Vartan, a 14th century writer, in his commentary on John, declares that it came out of Papias. Stephanus Dashtetzi says that his countrymen had excluded it from their copies for no good reason. It is not certain in which form these last two Armenian fathers read it in their copies. The Armenian Bible of A.D. 1220, at San Lazaro, writes against the episode, which it sets at the end of John's Gospel and gives in the longer form the title equivalent to *τὰ τῆς μοιχαλίδος*, and adds: "This passage belongs to the 86th number." This notice undoubtedly refers, says Father Carekin (*Catalogue des anciennes traductions Arméniennes*, p. 138) to the list of the concordance.¹ The Armenian MS. Bible of the

¹ Tischendorf (ed. N. T. octava) notes: "Zacharias Episc. Meletinensis in chronico sic: Exstat autem in Evglío S. Maræ Episcopi can. 89 caput

British and Foreign Bible Society includes the episode of the woman taken in adultery in the text of John, instead of setting it at the end like most MSS. It however gives to it no Armenian number, and varies somewhat from other copies, *e.g.*, in adding *καθ' ὅσας* in v. 2.

10. Many questions arise in connection with the shorter text of this episode alone found in the Edschmiadzin codex. I have only space now to summarise without discussion the conclusions which seem to me probable in regard to it.

(i.) It confirms the judgment of Westcott and Hort, of Mr. E. B. Nicholson and others, who, as against Hilgenfeld, have contended that the pericope contained in texts of John is the same account as that to which Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, 3, 39) refers as being given by Papias and contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

(ii.) The shorter text of the Edschmiadzin codex represents the form in which Papias and the Hebrew Gospel gave the episode. The longer form current is the same story edited, so to speak, for inclusion in the Greek Gospels at some very remote epoch.

(iii.) The longer Armenian text is a translation later than the rest of the Gospel of John; but certainly as early as the middle of the ninth century.

(iv.) The shorter form found in the Edschmiadzin codex of A.D. 989, is coeval with the rest of the Armenian version.

(v.) The Armenians excluded it from the Gospel, because the name of Papias being somehow associated with it, they knew that it was not properly part of the Gospel of John.

(vi.) The Armenians knew that it was Papias' and not John's, either because Papias' name was written against it in some of their codices, or because they recognised in the shorter form of text preserved in the Edschmiadzin codex the episode referred to by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, 3, 39).

singulare ev. Ioh. quod in aliis exx. non habetur." Dionysius Barsalibæus repeats this notice.

11. The foregoing is a digression; but I hope my readers will excuse it because of the interest attaching to the verses John viii. 1-12. What I was concerned to arrive at, when I entered upon it, were the reasons for which the Armenians rejected various parts of the Evangelical text at various times. We saw that Luke xxii. 43, 44 was excluded more or less completely on Docetic grounds, and its absence from so many of the oldest codices proves a great incursion of Docetic heresy in the Armenian Church, sometime in the 6th and 7th centuries. But a similar reason will not account for the omission of the episode of the adulteress. This last omission was almost certainly due to the reason I have given, that the Armenians recognised it as the work of Papias, or as part of the Hebrew Gospel. But if so, we may almost certainly infer that the end of Mark was cut out of their Gospels for a similar reason; namely, because having the title "of Ariston the Elder" prefixed, they knew it was not the work of Mark. This is the conclusion I wished to arrive at. It explains fully the notices affixed to the twelve verses in codices of respectable age, *e.g.*, "This is not genuine," "This is an addition." It is to be hoped that yet another codex may be found containing the ascription to Ariston. My friend, Archdeacon Ter Galoust Mkerttchian, of Edschmiadzin, has searched all the codices in his library, but found no other instance of it; nor does it occur in any of the many codices in Venice and in Paris, London and Oxford.

12. I will now turn to the consideration of the two theories in regard to the meaning of the title "of Ariston the Elder" which have been proposed by Dr. Resch and Prof. Zahn, of which I made a translation for an earlier number of the EXPOSITOR. More recently, Prof. Harnack has given his views in a long criticism of Rohrbach's recent work on the last verses of Mark. (See the *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, Heft iv.).

Dr. Resch suggests that the Ariston Elder was the same person who wrote an account mentioned by Eusebius of the siege and sack of Jerusalem by Hadrian. This Ariston was of Pella, a Jewish Christian and author of a dialogue between Jason (a Jewish Christian), and Papiscus (an Alexandrine Jew). Both dialogue and history of Ariston having perished, we have no means of deciding whether the twelve verses are in the style of that author. We do hear that some people mistook his dialogue for a work of Luke the Evangelist; and as that was so, it is likely that Ariston of Pella could have written the twelve verses. That he was the first editor of the Gospel canon is equally possible, but equally hypothetical; I regard it as a very large hypothesis indeed to base on the words "of Ariston Elder." The most that can be said for Dr. Resch's theory is that it accounts very satisfactorily for the diffusion and time of appearance of the end of Mark. For Ariston, if he added it in the course of his supposed editorial activity, must have done so about 140 A.D. Now we find that from the earliest Syriac text, as given in the new Sinaitic codex just published at Cambridge, the last twelve verses of Mark are absent. Prof. R. Harris puts the date of this oldest Syriac version early in the second century. But as early as the sixth or seventh decade of that century the Syriac version had contracted the ending, for it figures in the Diatessaron of Tatian. The Bobbio old Latin version (*) of the Gospels, which agrees with the new Syriac text in regard to the first chapter of Matthew in so striking a manner, also omits the last twelve verses of Mark. It also must have been made early in the second century. We can infer that the twelve verses were added about 130-150 A.D. to the Greek text. But there is really no ground, other than pure conjecture, for supposing that Ariston of Pella was their author. Had he himself been their author and had he added them, they would hardly present the appear-

ance which they do of being part of a longer and connected narrative. Westcott and Hort rightly insist on this point, and I think that the abrupt beginning *ἀναστὰς δὲ*, without any subject being supplied for the verb *ἐφάνη*, shows conclusively that we have here a fragment divorced from its context.

It is possible of course that Ariston of Pella, as first editor of the Gospel canon, may have taken the pericope from a longer work of his own. But it is very unlikely. As editor he would have had all the four Gospels before him, and would not have chosen as the end of Mark a piece which, as Westcott and Hort point out, agrees but imperfectly with much in the other Gospels. This want of harmony is good proof that the entire pericope was added before Mark's Gospel had been brought into one corpus with the other three Gospels. The entire tone and style of it is also, I must confess, rather more primitive than I should expect from Ariston of Pella writing as late as 140 A.D.

13. Prof. Zahn divides the twelve verses into two parts, a narrative portion consisting of vv. 9-13 and 19-20, and a doctrinal portion, vv. 14-18. The latter only he ascribes to Ariston's recitals (*διηγήσεις*) of the Lord's words (*τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων*). The rest he regards as a compilation by some one from the other Gospels of Luke and John. He thinks that a learned man of the fourth or fifth century recognised vv. 14-18 as the work of Ariston, because he had seen it so headed in the work of Papias, and wrote a scholion against it in the margin "of Ariston the Elder," which was afterwards affixed as a title to the entire section of twelve verses.

It is certainly some confirmation of this view, that in the Acts of Pilate we find vv. 15-19 inclusive in quite a different setting. The passage is in ch. xiv. of those Acts and runs as follows :

"Now Phinees, a certain priest, and Adas, a teacher, and Aggæus, a Levite, went down from Galilee to Jerusalem and told to the rulers of the synagogue and to the priests and Levites, that we saw Jesus and his disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamelch, and He was saying to His disciples, Go ye into all the world and preach to all creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned. And these signs shall accompany them that believe . . . On the sick they shall lay hands and they shall be well.

"While Jesus was yet speaking to his disciples we saw Him taken up into heaven."

It must be noticed however that this passage includes *v.* 19, which, according to Zahn, does not cohere with *vv.* 14-18. And I must confess that Zahn's analysis of the section seems to be somewhat hypercritical. Why, for example, should not Ariston have added a slight background of incident to the sayings of the Lord which he reported? I see no reason. Indeed, the probability is all the other way. For the discourses and sayings of Jesus were frequently called forth by circumstances and surroundings in which He found Himself. What more natural than that Ariston should furnish the setting of many a saying which would otherwise have been unintelligible. Nor can I agree with Zahn that *vv.* 9-13 do not cohere with 14-18, and that they are a mere compilation from the accounts of Luke and John. The gloss, if it be such, on *v.* 14, which Jerome gives, does not seem to me to prove anything in respect of the disconnection or otherwise of *vv.* 9-13 with 14-18. Is it impossible that Ariston should have composed the summary of events narrated in the other Gospels, especially in Luke, which *vv.* 9-13 supply? If he was living as late as 130-140, he may have had the other Gospels in his hands, and have compiled from them. There are competent scholars, however, like the late Dean Burgon, and Westcott and Hort, who virtually deny that the appendix of Mark is a compilation at all, and pronounce it to be an independent piece of narrative. The compiler, if such he was, used other

documents besides Matthew, Luke and John; for example, he had the documents which lie behind the pseudo-Petrine Gospel, as is clear if we compare *v.* 59 of this, *ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἐκλαίμεν καὶ ἐλνπούμεθα* with the words in Mark xvi. 10, *τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις, πενθοῦσιν καὶ κλαίουσιν*. He may even have had access, as I believe the writer of the Acts of Pilate may have had, to early documents which Luke used up in his Gospel.

Neither have I much belief in the hypothesis of a learned man in the fourth or fifth century, who was interested in the question of the origin of Mark xvi. 9-20, and therefore added a scholion in the margin. For (1) no scribe would have given to a marginal scholion such a place of dignity as the title Ariston Eritzu occupies in the Edschmiadzin codex. When the writer of this codex did find such a scholion, *e.g.*, *τὰ τῆς μοιχαλίδος*, against John viii. 1, he wrote it as a marginal scholion in his copy in small letters, and did not write it in big red uncials in a line all by itself.

(2) A learned man of the fifth century would not have been in time, for the verses were in the Armenian version as early as 420; and the title was certainly there from the first, or the Armenian scribes and doctors would not have cut out the section so uniformly as being an "apocryphal addition." Eznik carefully abstains from quoting the verses as Mark's. And the whole theory of learned scholiasts in the fourth century is somewhat forced, even if possible. As I looked at the codex itself I felt sure that the title before me was coeval with the verses not only in the Armenian version, but in the copy from which it was made, whether Greek or Syriac. And on reconsideration of the matter I think the verses were translated from Greek. It was probably because the scribe of the Greek uncial *B* found the same title of "Ariston Elder" affixed to the verses, that he left a blank space for them and went on to write out Luke. He, like most Armenian scribes, regarded any verses as

unworthy of a place among the four Gospels which were not from the hand of one of the four canonical Evangelists.

14. I hesitate to dissent on these points from the opinion of Prof. Zahn, the greatest living authority on the history of the canon. But I cannot but consider that the introduction in the text of the Edschmiadzin codex of the archaic form of the episode of the woman taken in adultery somewhat strengthens my views. For if the writer of this codex, or of its archetype, or of the Greek original which it represents, had access to the work of Papias or to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and introduced in his text—probably from the former—this more archaic form of the episode, may not the same writer have added to Mark's Gospel, somehow or other and for some reason or another truncated, the last twelve verses, taking them direct out of Papias in whose *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* they stood with the heading prefixed "of Aristion Elder"? That the twelve verses may have stood in Papias with such a heading is probable; for Eusebius says of him: *ὄνομαστί γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις*, where *αὐτῶν* means "of Aristion and John the Presbyter." I suspect that the narrative of the woman taken in adultery was also taken by some editor of the Gospels out of Papias and that in Papias' *συγγράμματα* it bore the heading *τά τῆς μοιχαλίδος. Ἰωάννου*. My hypothetical editor then confounded between John the Elder and John the Evangelist, and therefore thrust the pericope into John's Gospel, where it stands both in the Edschmiadzin codex, and in the Codex Bezae at the end of ch. vii. and beginning of ch. viii.¹

15. I suspect that in the earliest age of Christianity there were two opinions or more about the Ascension of Jesus. According to one form of belief reflected in the Acts, it took

¹ After I wrote the above I found the same view put forward by Mr. E. B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, p. 64.

place from the Mount of Olives; according to another from the Mount Mamelch, in Galilee, which Jesus before His death appointed as a *rendezvous* for His disciples. This form of the story we find in the Gospel of Matthew and in the Acts of Pilate.¹ According to a third form of belief reflected in the Gospel of Peter, Jesus was taken up into heaven at the close of the crucifixion scene itself, and there was no final and definite ascension. I cannot but believe that these differences of opinion in the earliest age are responsible in some way for the loss of the true end of Mark and its replacement by a *διήγησις* of Aristion, which was neutral and did not say whence He ascended. I think it is also important to notice that, although the Greek editions of Eusebius (*H. E.*, 136) make both Ariston and John the Presbyter *disciples of the Lord*, the old Latin and Armenian versions do nothing of the sort. Ruffinus renders "*quæue Aristion vel Joannes presbyter ceterique discipuli*," while the Armenian omits the words *οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί*. Perhaps therefore both of Papias' direct teachers were only pupils of the disciples and had not themselves seen the Lord. The importance of the scholion in a Bodleian codex of Ruffinus' version of Eusebius has been overrated by Zahn and others. It is a very ragged and late bit of writing.

16. Looked at as to their contents and ideas implied, both the last twelve verses and the account of the adulteress in its new form strike me as very archaic. The idea of immunity from the bite of vipers being secured by faith meets us in Acts xxiii. 6. So in the Vita Pythagoræ of

¹ The composer of these Acts seems to have used the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew. For example, we read in them i. 4 (of the triumphant entry of Jesus): λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· πῶς δὲ ἔκραζον Ἑβραῖοι; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὡσαννὰ μενβρονή βαρουχαννὰ ἄδοναί. Compare Jerome *ad Dam.* (Martianay's ed., iv. 148): "Denique Matthæus, qui evangelium Hebræo sermone conscripsit, ita posuit Osanna Barrama, id est, Osanna in Exelsis. (See *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* by E. B. Nicholson, p. 51). The utterance (Ps. 31. 6) of Jesus on the cross βαδδὰχ ἐφκιδ ρουελ reported in the same Acts of Pilate may also have been taken from the Hebrew Gospel.

Iamblichus, which is very likely a repetition of that which Apollonius of Tyana wrote, we read that the great mystical teacher of Greece, in Sybaris and in Tyrrhenia, took up deadly vipers without being hurt. The Bacchæ of Euripides in their transports had the same power (Eurip., *Bacchæ*, 698), and the same idea meets us in other profane authors.

17. In the new form of the story of the adulteress, the words of Jesus, "Go in peace and present the offering for sins, as in *their* law is written," are remarkable for the objective attitude implied towards the law of the Jews, for the contradiction with the received text, according to which the woman's accusers declared that Moses in his law commanded that such offenders should be stoned; and, lastly, for its contrast in tone with the ordinary text, which has, "Neither do I condemn thee. Go, and sin no more." This latter seems to me in tone and sentiment much the finer way of ending the episode. It is remarkable that in the *Protevangelium Iacobi* almost the same words are addressed by the priest to Joseph and Mary, when he is acquitted of the charge of having neglected to guard the virgin committed to his keeping, and she of the charge of having lost her purity. The priest gives them each the cup of ordeal (τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγξεως κυρίου), and then acquits them, saying, "Since the Lord God hath not made manifest your sins, neither do I condemn you." "And he released them" (*Protev.*, xvi.). In the Greek texts of the *Protevangelium* there is the same variation between κρίνω and κατακρίνω as in the MSS. at John viii. 11.

18. The difference of form between the new and the current form of this episode of the adulteress presents a very curious problem. The current form is as old as the Codex Bezae in which it occurs, and underlies the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 2, 24, 4. The new Armenian form, on the other hand, resembles that with which Eusebius and

Jerome may have been familiar. The antiquity of the Edschmiadzin form, as I will style that which I now publish, is, I think, demonstrated by the fact that Gregory Narekatzi, who died A.D. 972, just before the Edschmiadzin codex was written, already had the other form of the episode, and in his commentary on the *Song of Songs* quotes the words, "Neither do I condemn thee. Go, and sin no more," in the same terms in which they are rendered in the Venice Bible of 1220 A.D., as well as in other Armenian texts. The Armenians, therefore, already had the ordinary text long before the end of the tenth century.

19. If the new form of the episode only occurred in a late MS., it would still be hardly reasonable to argue that it was a make-up of an Armenian scribe in order to stop a gap in his text. But since it occurs in a codex which is already notable for its ascription of the end of Mark to Ariston, the greatest weight must be attached to it. There are yet other instances where old codices of the Armenian version preserve very old features of the New Testament text. For example, in Matthew ii. 9, the Moscow codex of the year 887 reads: ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ἐστάθη ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον, "the star . . . stood still over the cave where was the child." This is a text testified to in a general way by Justin Martyr, by Origen, and by the *Protevangelium Iacobi*, xxi., which says of the star that it ἔστι ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ σπηλαίου, where also some manuscripts read ἐπάνω for ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, while others add οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον. Perhaps the Armenian here preserves an ancient form of reading which has vanished from every Greek manuscript. I do not think it is a mere gloss.

20. I cannot identify in St. Martin's introduction the passage in which, according to Prof. Zahn, he speaks of "a second Armenian version of Mark xvi. 9-20, which is not included in the printed Bibles," and as to which Prof. Zahn adds: "It is to be desired that Mr. Conybeare, who

has examined the MSS. of Edschmiadzin on the spot, should give us a full account of the relation of this text to the versions of the end of Mark which are already printed." I have never seen but one version in Armenian codices and editions of Mark xvi. 9-20, nor do I believe there ever was more than one.

In my first article in the EXPOSITOR (October, 1893), I gave a collation of the text of the Edschmiadzin codex with that of Westcott and Hort's N. T. The Venice (San Lazaro) Codex of the Gospels, No. 7. 6. 1635, dated A.D. 1193, has practically the same text, except that in v. 12 it has *ὑστερον ἐφανερώθη αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐτ. μ.*, instead of *μετὰ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐφάν. ἐν ἐτ. μ.* This codex also adds *Ἰησοῦς* after *ἀναστάς* in v. 5.

The Venice MS. of four Gospels, 6. 5. 938, dated 1205 A.D., has the same text again as No. 7. 6. 1635 just described. The same text is also found in the Venice Codex of the four Gospels, 7. 2. 641, dated A.D. 1256, and also in another MS. 5. 6. 1196, of which I do not know the precise date; but it is probably a late thirteenth century MS.

Another San Lazaro codex 2. 6. 325, dated 1230, gives a text with very many variants from these three which I have mentioned. These variants, however, do not quite entitle it to be called another version, and they are not of sufficient interest for me to print them here. The Bibles of Lord Zouche and of the London British and Foreign Bible Society practically give the same text as the Edschmiadzin codex; so does the oldest Bodleian codex of the four Gospels, which contains the twelve verses.

I owe the above information about the San Lazaro codices to Father F. D. Galatosian, as also much of what follows.

21. In conclusion, I venture to give a translation of the colophons which usually occur at the end or beginning of each Gospel; not indeed in the oldest uncial MSS. containing the Gospels only and meant for church use, but in all

copies of the entire Bible and in most codices of the four Gospels later than 1100 A.D. In MSS. of the Bible, I may say that each Gospel is prefaced with a longer notice, consisting of an outline of its contents, followed by the shorter colophons or notices which I forthwith translate from the last edition of the Bible printed at Venice.

1. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Jerusalem in the Hebrew language in the eighth year after the Ascension of the Saviour at the request of the Church of Jerusalem.

2. Mark, at the command of Peter the Rock, wrote his Gospel in Alexandria in the Egyptian tongue in the fifteenth year after the Ascension of the Saviour.

The outline of contents includes the last twelve verses.

3. Luke, by profession a physician, became a disciple of the Saviour, and was reckoned and called to be of the number of the seventy. But afterwards he became a disciple of Paul; wherefore there is uttered an eulogy of the latter in the Gospel. He, at the command of Paul, wrote his Gospel in Antioch in the Syrian language in the seventeenth year after the Ascension of the Saviour.

4. John, who was Son of Thunder, thundering forth, related that which is heavenly to us. He, in the fifty-third year after the Ascension of the Saviour, wrote his Gospel in Ephesus, at the request of the Church of Asia, in the Greek tongue.

A number of thirteenth and fourteenth century codices of the Gospels in Venice, Paris, London and Oxford have these notices with slight variations, usually adding the number of headings, etc., in each Gospel, as follows:

1. Matthew has, Headings (*capita*), 355; Testimonies, 32; Gospels (passages for reading), 61; Verses, 2,600.

2. Mark has, Headings, 234; Testimonies, 15; Gospels (readings), 55; Verses, 1,600.

3. Luke has, Headings, 344 (or 342); Testimonies, 17; Lections, 64; Verses, 2,800.

4. John has, Headings, 232; Testimonies, 15; Lections, 50; Verses, 2,300.

In these notices there is a slight variation in some copies. For example, Luke is in a thirteenth century Ritual MS. in the Vatican, stated to have written his Gospel in Latin at Rome. In a MS. No. 2. 6. 190 of respectable age at Venice, it states that "Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome from the mouth of Peter in the Dalmatic tongue, which is the Hellenic." Dalmatic was the fourth century Armenian equivalent for Latin.

But these notices are exceptions, and there is a fair agreement among these old Armenian colophons, which seem to go back to the fifth century, that Luke and Mark both wrote in Syriac; so that the Fourth Gospel was the only one written from the first in Greek. One would like to know what underlies these notices, whence they came, and whether or no anything more than Armenian and Syrian rivalry with the Greeks originally prompted them.

A very old codex of the Georgian Gospels, at least as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, in the Pope's library at Rome, states in a colophon that Matthew was written at first in Hebrew, but says nothing about Mark and Luke.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

SUMMARY.

1. The title "Ariston Eritzu."
2. When were the last twelve verses of Mark translated into Armenian? Vernacular versions grew up out of inter-linear glosses.
3. Evidence that the appendix of Mark was translated early in the fifth century from Eznik and Armenian Acts of Pilate.
4. From an examination of old copies of the Armenian Gospels.

5. The question why the Armenian Church excluded the Appendix of Mark.

6. The evidence of other such exclusions, *e.g.*, Luke xxii. 43-44, was cut out for doctrinal reasons.

7. The episode of the woman taken in adultery alone contained among old codices in the Edschmiadzin copy, but in a new form.

8. The episode translated from that copy.

9. Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews probably gave it in the new form found in this MS.

10. Probabilities as to this new form of the text of John viii. 1-11.

11. The Armenians excluded this pericope because they knew it was due to Papias, not to John; and excluded Mark xvi. 9-20 because they knew it was Aristion's, and not Mark's writing.

12. Consideration of Dr. Resch's theory as to the title "Ariston Eritzu."

13. Of Professor Zahn's.

14. Bearing of the appearance in the same codex of the new form of John viii. 1-11, on the question of the origin of the title "Ariston Eritzu." They both came out of Papias.

15. Variety of opinion in the very earliest Church as to the scene of the Ascension explains the loss of the original end of Mark.

16. Tone of the appendix of Mark very primitive.

17. Contrast between the new, or Edschmiadzin, and the old form of John viii. 1-11.

18. Antiquity of both forms.

19. Other peculiarities of old Armenian copies of the Gospels, *e.g.*, Jesus born in a *cave*, according to the Moscow copy dated 887.

20. There was never but one Armenian version of Mark xvi. 9-20.

21. Colophons found at the ends of the Gospels in old Armenian copies.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF OLD TESTAMENT ARCHÆOLOGY.

ARCHÆOLOGY is a term very variously understood. Of Dr. Murray's two definitions, "Ancient history generally, the systematic description or study of antiquities," and "The scientific study of the remains and monuments of the pre-historic period," the former is too broad, the latter too narrow, for our purpose, neither would be in accordance with current usage as to Old Testament archæology. I venture to suggest, as a convenient definition of the latter, the study of all sources of information which contain contemporary evidence as to the circumstances of the authors, books and history of the Old Testament. The direct and exclusive study of the Old Testament would not be Old Testament archæology.

This definition enables us to emphasise the claims of natural science, physiography, philology, philosophy, comparative sociology, and theology to rank with Egyptology as branches of our subject. They also enable us to supplement biblical statements by informing us as to the circumstances of Old Testament history. A quotation of Dr. Murray's from Tylor's *Primitive Culture* will serve to justify our classification. "Archæology," he says, "displays old structures and buried relics of the remote past." The human mind, human nature, language, Eastern life, with its manners and customs, the physical features of Palestine, are all very old structures, and contain many buried relics of a remote past. They include the contemporary monuments of bygone ages, just as the earth of to-day includes the geological record of the formation of the world in pre-historic times. Hence the study of psychology, philology, Eastern life, and the geography of Palestine, stand on the same footing as branches of archæology.

The comparative study of sociology and religion affords contemporary information as to the Old Testament in as real, though in less obvious a way, than Semitic philology or Palestine exploration. As soon as we can discern general principles of the social and religious development of nations, we are warranted in considering that a nation now in the same stage of its growth as ancient Israel is virtually contemporary with ancient Israel, and can afford us evidence as to the probable conditions of life and thought in Old Testament times. It is this principle that underlies much of Prof. Robertson Smith's recent work.

But the most familiar branch of our subject is that comprising the literature and other remains of the nations bordering on Palestine. We are specially familiar with the names and histories of the closely connected group comprising Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and the Hittites. There is even a most unfortunate tendency to limit Old Testament archæology to the antiquities of this group, and ignore other branches of the subject. There were many points of likeness in language and religion between Tyre and Israel, together with constant intercourse and close alliance. The keen interest of the prophets in Phœnicia is well illustrated by the three important chapters which Ezekiel devotes to Tyre. A careful study of Phœnicia and her great colonies will be amply repaid in a fuller understanding of the religious and social life of Israel. Prof. Cheyne has pointed out the importance of Persian history and literature for the student of the Psalter and later books of the Old Testament; and the period of the Greek dynasties in Egypt and Syria has its bearing not only on the transmission and translation of the Old Testament, but also on the Book of Daniel, and the controversies as to the formation of the Psalter and the Maccabean Psalms. We have left—Palestine itself, with the immediately surrounding tribes, and Arabia. Palestinian antiquities seem to divide themselves for the

present between Palestine exploration and Egyptology and Assyriology. Arabia is mainly utilised by means of comparative sociology and religion, and as a source of information as to Semitic language and life.

From this very brief and imperfect review of the scope of our subject, we pass to a very general estimate of its significance. We may summarise the latter thus : Old Testament archæology enables us to confirm, and illustrate, and explain the Old Testament in detail ; it gives us a broader and fuller knowledge of the historical setting of its events and writings ; it enables us to realise the place of Israel in the history of Divine revelation.

The function of Old Testament archæology as to details has been largely illustrated in many standard works, and most readers will be familiar with Prof. Whitehouse's translation of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, or, at any rate, with Prof. Sayce's little book, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, in both of which the illustrative matter from the monuments is arranged under the verses or books of the Old Testament. Indeed, this use of archæology with reference to details may be seen in any good modern commentary. Now, for instance, we see that in Ezekiel the face of the cherub is that of an ox, and in Assyria the winged bulls of the portals of the temples are called cherubs, or, again, some numeral or other word whose origin is inexplicable from the Hebrew is explained by a reference to Assyrian, or the mention of Ahab or Uzziah in an inscription enables us to fix the date of those kings ; or, again, it is interesting to note that some obscure Jewish town, like Adoraim, mentioned once in the Old Testament, also occurs in a list of cities captured by Shishak, king of Egypt. Instances might be multiplied, and yet each exemplify some new class of illustration afforded by the results of archæology of the details of the Old Testament. To the intelligent reader of the Bible the

smallest detail is interesting, and true scholarship is always careful of small matters, and anxious to be accurate even in minute details. Such details may prove to be of supreme importance; it was by the addition of only a single letter, for instance, that Jewish scribes attempted to suppress the fact that the grandson of Moses became the priest of the idolatrous sanctuary at Dan. Moreover, the vividness and truth of our idea of the Old Testament depend very much on the suggestive outlines and colouring, the dramatic force, which can only be gained by the accurate setting forth of details; and unless our ideas are life-like and true, they will not be of much spiritual value.

But even in the interest of a correct understanding of detail, it is necessary to protest against a piecemeal treatment of archæology, an undue tendency to dwell on detail as detail. There is a danger that we should confine our knowledge of the subject to the scraps of information which can be connected with words or verses, paragraphs or books of the Old Testament; that in our minds the facts about Assyria and Egypt should be arranged according to the order of books, chapters, and verses in the Old Testament. Schrader and the *Fresh Light* are very useful for their special purpose, but they cannot be intelligently used till the student has some general knowledge of the subject, such as may be derived from any of the standard works on Egypt, Assyria, etc. Without such reading, his information becomes a loosely jointed chain of incoherent fragments torn away from their natural surroundings.

The danger of fragmentary study is much increased by the expedients of a timid and despairing apologetic. It seems to be held that the only use of archæology is to furnish confirmation of the historical details of the Old Testament, and the deeper and fuller meaning of the subject is lost in the ecstatic delight with which we are asked to hail the discovery that a city mentioned in the Book of

Chronicles was actually known to the Egyptians in the time of Rehoboam, and that manners and customs found in Genesis may be seen in Palestine to-day. Apart from the injury inflicted on the study of archæology, the Christian revelation is grievously prejudiced in the eyes of unbelievers when the faithful are seen catching at such straws to save themselves from sinking in the waves of doubt.

The various details of our subject are stones for the temple of Divine Truth, and should not be recklessly used as missiles to be thrown at the enemy, especially as they seldom hit anybody, and we have better weapons for our warfare. Unfortunately, this obsolete and ineffective artillery is not merely directed against the common enemy; it is often thought necessary to direct the battery against the most earnest and competent Bible scholars of the day. There is a Jewish legend that Hiram, the Phœnician artist whose productions adorned Solomon's temple, was killed in a quarrel with his fellow workmen. Others of God's temple-builders have since suffered and sinned in the same way. At intervals the workmen engaged upon the Temple of Truth, the masons and carpenters, as it were, of the spiritual edifice, suspend operations, that they may engage in a free fight, using as weapons their building tools and materials. The Assyriologist denounces the critic, and the critic sneers at the Egyptologist, while the students of other branches hasten to take sides.

It is evident that the different branches of our subjects must necessarily be left in the hands of experts, and the man who could be an expert in all its branches would be a transcendent genius, and such a division of his energies would involve infinite waste. We have to take our information from the experts, and experts must use each others' results; there is great need of intimate and sympathetic co-operation. We must be able to trust our experts. It is most unfortunate when the spirit and temper of a great

scholar seem to suggest that his impartiality will be impaired by his enthusiasm for apologetic or for any other special criticism ; and that he may use his great authority as an expert to vouch for statements which have not sufficient foundation. The real interests of the Christian Church cannot be served by partisan feeling, however ready a party may be to welcome and foster such feeling. It is our duty as Biblical students and as Christians to encourage and maintain the supreme reverence for truth which is the peculiar characteristic of genuine scholarship. It is pleasant in this connection to be able to quote the following wise and timely words of Captain Conder (EXPOSITOR, 1886, I. 326): "I am not aware that the permanent publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund can justly be said to have an 'apologetic tendency.' Survey and the description of ruins have no tendency at all: they represent the collection of facts over which the reader may put any construction he pleases. The strength of the Society lies in the fact that officially it recognises no *views*, only dealing with ascertained facts." That is the strength of all true scholarship.

When we turn to broader aspects, we are at once conscious that in these we see most clearly the new fulness of the Old Truth. We may have to readjust our ideas to the origin of the Old Testament, and to reconstruct our history of Israel; but the vital truths that are the moving force of our religious life gain new reality and deeper meaning. We being human, are always eager to accept and to emphasize the limitations and misunderstandings that human error has attached to the truth of God; these limitations and misunderstandings are exposed and discredited by the expansion of knowledge and the growth of spiritual discrimination. But it is the glory and sufficient evidence of Eternal Truth that they can embrace and interpret all new knowledge and thus manifest their permanence, width and

fertility. For they not only interpret, but are themselves interpreted and expanded, and we discover that our ancient principles have a fulness and depth of meaning and a variety of application of which we never dreamed. Archæology has done much towards the removing of limitations. In the old histories our impression of Israel itself is confused, but our impression of the surrounding nations is dim almost to utter darkness. Israel lives in a circle of light, and the Gentile nations from the surrounding darkness make occasional incursions into the bright area. Now the area of light is almost indefinitely extended and the whole drama of Eastern politics is revealed to view. In our former pictures Israel was like a single mountain peak, mostly standing out from surrounding mists, but sometimes obscured by them; now and again the mist would clear away for a moment and some neighbouring peak would be seen, but the general effect of the series of pictures was to set forth the solitary grandeur of this one peak. Now all the mists have cleared away and we see Israel as one peak of a magnificent mountain range.

This enlarged view of Israel involves a multiplication of our points of view. In trying to take in the beauties of landscape we do not feel that we have become familiar with it or entered into the full enjoyment of it till we have looked at it from different points of view; and the most interesting and instructive point of view of a mountain is seldom the mountain itself. Now in the case of Israel we were in the habit of, as it were, surveying the mountain from one of its own peaks. We saw Israel exclusively, or almost exclusively, from the point of view of Judah, for most of the Old Testament is by Judæan authors. Not only so, but we also looked at the Gentile kingdoms through Jewish spectacles. Now we have many points of view; we can also study Egypt and Assyria each from its own point of view, and Egypt from that of Assyria, and Assyria

from that of Egypt, and Israel from those of Egypt, Assyria and Israel.

One immediate result is to give new reality to the familiar idea of the political insignificance of Israel. Naturally enough the idea is not conspicuous in the Israelite scriptures, and is further obscured to many minds by the fact that the map of Palestine in an atlas may quite justifiably occupy as big a page as the empire of Russia. But an elementary study of geography compels us to recognise that Palestine is small in extent. When however we begin to form some general idea of the great Eastern empires, with their wide territory, their arts, literature, and science, their unlimited military resources ; or when we see the Phœnician cities traversing all Western seas with their fleets, and Asia and Africa with their caravans, and we recall again the slight importance of the clans of herdsmen and shepherds and husbandmen that occupied the highlands and valleys of Palestine :

When we read of Israel in a long list of conquered tribes side by side with obscure and forgotten peoples, Irkanatians and Arbayans, or Kirzamai and Musri, we feel that Israel and Judah were but pawns in the great international game of chess between Egypt and Assyria. On the other hand, as our sense of the power and the culture of these splendid empires grows with every increase of knowledge, so are we more deeply impressed with the unique spiritual value of Israel.

Here and there we may be able to parallel some Bible passage from the Chaldæan Penitential Psalms or the Egyptian Book of the Dead, but the treasure of Divine Truth in Psalms and Prophets and Wisdom is as far beyond the religious teaching of the great empires as these were superior to Israel in power and magnificence. When we contrast the permanent value to the world of Israel and of Assyria, we are helped anew to understand the true Divine

standard of men and things, and to recognise how military power and material resources are powerless against spiritual tendencies, and ultimately become subservient to them. The passion of the prophet for justice and righteousness has counted for infinitely more in human history than the generalship, statecraft and culture of these great empires.

Thus archæology emphasizes the unique religious importance of Israel, and moreover corrects a common error as to what is unique in religion. Christ is unique, and a popular theology, conspicuous for want of spiritual discernment, supposes that His uniqueness consisted in external and material matters, which manifested His Deity to the most unspiritual observer. While He Himself sought to suppress the fame of His miracles and refused a sign to the Pharisees, the unspiritual imagination delights to think of Him chiefly as taken up with the working of physical signs and portents. The Christ it pictures, neither man among men, nor God revealed to men, could neither have touched us by His human sympathy, nor saved us by His Divine sufficiency. The uniqueness of Christ was compatible with a humanity that in no way hindered His intimate and familiar friendship with peasants and fishermen. It was a uniqueness that was only spiritually discerned.

So with Israel. We have been too apt to find our main interest in the history of Israel in signs and portents. We have thought of Israel as visibly, conspicuously different from other nations; as set on high with a kind of national halo; in its sin and its holiness alien and estranged from all peoples in their common, everyday suffering and sin and faltering attempts at righteousness. Hence we have greatly failed to learn the lessons of its history. But it is clear from the inscriptions that the surrounding nations knew of no such conspicuous uniqueness. There was no visible halo to be seen about Israel; the nation seemed to Egyptian and Assyrian to be common clay; indeed very common

clay, chiefly fit for nobler nations to trample under foot. Israel and its kings and its cities occur in the most ordinary and unemphasized way in the list of Egyptian and Babylonian conquests, and no notes of admiration are appended to their names.

It is now beginning to be understood that the isolation of Israel has been greatly exaggerated, and archæology shows more and more fully how little unique Israel was in external matters, either in its worship, its idolatry, its wars, or its captivities. We see it in vital connection with the history of the world along very many lines of contact. Even in the Bible itself the Temple is decorated with Phœnician workmanship, and the pattern of its altar is borrowed from Damascus ; it has commerce with Phœnicia and the Hittites and Egypt. In the inscriptions the Israelite kings are constantly among the groups of petty and futile conspirators against Assyrian and Babylonian supremacy. The Israel of the Old Testament is merged in the general picture of Eastern politics, and that picture presents itself to us as a whole composed of many closely connected and intimately related parts. Israel vibrates through its whole being to the harmonies and discords of the system of which it is a part. It is connected with other nations by real and living ties, and to set it apart in weird, demoniac isolation is almost as fatal and ghastly as to tear a vital organ from a living body. The later Pharisees attempted the operation with only too great success, and the result has been a byword ever since. The true spiritual uniqueness of Israel may indeed be symbolised by the drying up of the Red Sea and the Jordan, by the Pillar of Fire and Cloud ; but it is not manifested by them. It wrought itself out in the lives and words of prophets and psalmists and apostles ; The very names of many of these servants of God are forgotten and unknown. Many of them died a martyr's death, and no miracle intervened to save them ; but their

words are to-day the spiritual food of millions, whose use of their Bibles is a constant testimony to the unique inspiration of Israel.

Moreover, as we study the Old Testament in its vital relations to the world of its time, and are thus set free from an undue absorption in mere details of external resemblances, the outlines of religious history and teaching develop a new harmony of form and fulness of colouring. We can best explain this by an illustration. As children, our first idea of a flower is of something altogether different from its surroundings. The delicate green of its leaves, the vivid blue or yellow of its petals, are simply a contrast to the brown shapeless soil from which it grows. Until we have pulled it up we do not realise that it has roots, and we scarcely know the meaning of the word atmosphere. But we soon learn that the materials of leaves and petals are identical with those of the soil and air around, and are drawn from them. The flower, because it has a life of its own, is able to select from the solid earth and the thin air the material suitable for its nourishment, and to mould them into forms of beauty. So Israel had a life of its own, forces of Divine revelation working in its prophets and teachers. This life and these forces were able by subtle but irresistible processes to deal with elements of foreign life and thought, to select and reject, to mould, assimilate, and transmute. By such dealings its relations with the great Gentile empires were made subservient to the growth of its understanding of Divine truth. As the character and genius of these great empires becomes more real and intelligible to us, we are able to appreciate more and more fully the delicate and consummate workmanship of "that great Artist, the Divine wisdom," as a recent writer has said. The growth of truth from Isaiah to Jeremiah, and Ezekiel and the great prophet of the Exile, and from these to the later Psalmists, has a new interest and meaning. It

is largely to this kind of insight that such works as Prof. G. A. Smith's *Isaiah* owe their charm and force.

When we speak of Israel as a plant drawing from its surroundings the materials of its growth by the power of an indwelling Divine life and the influences of a Divine sunshine, we are reminded that Christ has been called the flower of the old Israel and the root of the new.

The same idea may be stated more prosaically. History converges to Christ and radiates out again from Him. Any deeper understanding of the development of Old Testament truth is also a deeper understanding of the Divine preparation for the coming of Christ; the more clearly we see how freely the Divine treasures of power and wisdom and love were spent in this preparation, the more profound is the wonder, and reverence and awe with which we recognise the transcendent position of Christ in history. We know how Rome, Greece and Israel were combined to furnish the agents and opportunities for the preaching of the Gospel. Rome gave her political organisation and lofty ideal of public law and order, Greece her language and culture, Israel her deep religious feeling and devotion. It has been often shown how the whole history of Rome and Greece shaped itself to this great end. Old Testament archæology shows us that the preparation for Christ in and through Israel was not a simple, isolated stream of tendency, but a subtle and delicate combination and control of the interlacing influences, the action and reaction of the politics, culture and religion of a great international system of conflicting empires. We learn that the means used to prepare for Christ were more divinely infinite and far-reaching and more deeply penetrating than we had supposed, and our sense of the Divine dignity and supreme importance of the Person and work to which this preparation was directed are infinitely enhanced. And for the future as we remember how thus once God controlled and combined all history

to the advent of one "far-off Divine event," we are encouraged to believe that to some such another event the Divine purpose is at work amid the apparent confusion and conflict of modern history.

W. H. BENNETT.

HEBREWS XII. 2 (1st Clause).

"LOOKING unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of *our* faith"—the word "*our*" being a supplement.

So reads the Authorised Version, the Revised Version making no change, except that for "*Finisher*" it has "*Perfector*." But does this mean that Christ is the Author of the faith which we have in Him? If so, it is a very unusual expression, and, what is more, it has nothing to do with the subject of the verse. The Apostle¹ is urging us to look to the "great cloud of witnesses," enumerated in the preceding chapter, witnessing to the power of *faith* to triumph over all opposition, and, like them, to run with patience the race set before us. But from all these witnesses to the power of faith he bids us "look" to a witness nobler still, *the faith of Jesus*, "who, for the joy set before Him"—the joy of saving a perishing world by His death—"endured the cross," with all the agonies of crucifixion, and not only rose above, but "*despised the shame*" of being held up to the contempt and scorn of the assembled multitude between two criminals as the greatest criminal of the three, and now, as the prize He ran for, "set down on the throne of God."

The subject, then, of this verse is not "*our* faith," but that of Jesus Himself. The words, "looking unto Jesus" are (literally) "*looking away* unto Jesus" (the compound verb ἀπορῶντες), meaning that His faith transcends that of

¹ I say the Apostle, for, with Origen, I believe that the *Epistle* is that of the Apostle Paul, but that the *language* is moulded by Luke, who, during his two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea, would be almost constantly with him.

all others. And the Greek words which are here used to express what Christ's faith was when He endured the cross are unusual but very significant words. He is described as both the Ἀρχηγός and the Τελειωτής (τῆς πίστεως). The Ἀρχηγός means both *Author* and *Leader*, and the connection must determine which is the suitable English word. As the sense is not that Christ is *the Author of faith*, the word *Author* is out of place here. It is in its proper place in chapter v. 9, for Christ is "*the Author of eternal life*." But here the word should be rendered "*Leader*" or *Prince*, or (as in chap. ii. 10) *Captain*, as He is also the Τελειωτής, "*the Perfecter*" of faith—both *leading the van* and *bringing up the rear* of the noble army of believers.

That Christ as *Man* lived by faith from first to last is expressly stated in this very Epistle, chapter ii. 11-13. "For both He that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one (of one nature); for which cause He is not ashamed to call us brethren, saying, I will declare Thy name unto My brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I sing¹ thy praise (Myself as one of them). And again, I will put my trust in Him."

It is a pity that Christians, in their religious exercises, so seldom realize His absolute oneness with us "as concerning the flesh." He is "the Firstborn," indeed, "among many brethren," but since "He is not ashamed to call us *brethren*," He surely wants us to think of Him in that light. Otherwise we lose much real enjoyment in fellowship with Him. I have no sympathy with that *Kenosis* theory which says that Christ "emptied Himself of Himself," or of all knowledge of what He was as the Son of God. There are mysteries here which we cannot fathom, because we have nothing to compare with it or throw light upon it. But

¹ That Christ *sang* as well as *prayed* is nowhere expressly stated. But since at His last Passover "the apostles, ere they rose, sang a hymn" (Matt. xxvi. 30), we can hardly suppose that Jesus *sat silent*.

the absolute *reality* of both natures in one Person is indisputably taught in the New Testament, and to me the *indirect* evidence of both makes a deeper impression than the explicit expression of either.

DAVID BROWN.

THE SELF-DISCLOSURE OF JESUS WHEN ON EARTH.

Few candid thinkers will now deny that the primitive Church adored Christ as divine, and that it had New Testament authority for doing so.

But with changes in the popular view of inspiration, this fact, even when conceded, ceases to be as convincing as once it would have been. Might not the disciples have misunderstood their Master? Does the tenor of the whole narrative coincide with the utterance of the proof-texts? If there is any value in the modern doctrine of the immanence of God in humanity, might not this immanence, keenly apprehended by the Perfect One, explain what He really said about Himself, and about the urgency of His claims?

Whatever we may think of such questions, and of the mental and spiritual position to which they are possible, they are questions widely asked. And they give special importance and urgency to another inquiry, which is in itself of a paramount interest, namely this, What was the nature of Christ's testimony to Himself on earth? He said, "I am one that beareth witness to Myself." But the Jews complained, "How long dost Thou hold us in suspense? If Thou be the Christ, tell us plainly . . . Whom makest Thou Thyself?" From such interrogations this much at least is clear, that they were conscious of more implied than was uttered, that Messiahship seemed even

to their dull apprehensions to be not exactly what Jesus claimed, but something different and larger, something which made them exclaim, To what art Thou aspiring? whom makest Thou Thyself? Perhaps we may recognise the same consciousness of mystery, the same dim surmising, in the readiness of many witnesses of the greater miracles to cry, What manner of man is this? The surmise appears to be deeper than if they said, To what office is He entitled? Is not this the Christ? Now such questions are not put concerning the holiest of the saints, in whom the immanence of God has been most apparent, nor concerning any who have learned of Christ.

One is often asked by thoughtful young persons, "Why, on the orthodox supposition, did not Jesus distinctly avow His own proper deity? Why is it only by an inference, however strong, that we deduce this doctrine from His own discourses?"

The answer to this question ought to bring satisfaction to a candid mind, in exact proportion to the clearness and strength of the inference in question. Unless it can be shown that Deity is the natural explanation, and indeed the only adequate explanation, of a great many of the words and acts of Jesus, the following argument will scarcely produce conviction. But if a broad and comprehensive examination should make it apparent that the whole manner of Christ's thought, His bearing toward God and man, is harmonized and explained by that doctrine of His person which is accepted in the Church, if it should be found that (instead of the difference which is too frequently asserted) there is in this matter a perfect concurrence between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth, and if this harmony prove to extend over the miracles, the parables, the simplest of His discourses to the multitude and the subtlest of his controversies with the rulers, what then? From such harmonious and broad deductions spring our

best assured convictions. Neither fraud nor fanaticism produces material which can stand a test so searching.

If, as the Church believes, Jesus were a truly Divine Person, wearing the totality of human nature in a union as intimate as that wherein our own spiritual personality wears flesh and suffers fleshly pangs (His Person, like our own, being sensitive through all His complex nature), then His life on earth must of necessity have been a gradual and slow manifestation of His glory, not an abrupt announcement of His rank, but a careful preparation of men for the time when they could honour Him aright, because the lesson was learned at last. Neither could He Himself share the conditions of our lowly life, if already recognised as God Incarnate, nor could men be asked to accept so wonderful a dogma before the revelation was complete. It would have been every way premature for Jesus when on earth to put forth too naked an announcement of His Deity. But if we find Him from the first making claims which logically involve His Deity, which even at the moment must have startled and perplexed His hearers, and which did provoke both challenge and remonstrance—if we find such implications growing clearer as His ministry advances—if they are most frequent (though perhaps not strongest) in that Gospel which records least of His teaching of the masses, but most of His avowals when pressed in controversy, most also of His confidential discourses with His true disciples—is not all this both harmonious and convincing? Is it unreasonable to read these hints, these pregnant and mysterious utterances in the light of the Epistles as a commentary? And if it must always be the despair of scepticism that it has to explain not only the origin of certain doctrines, and the belief in certain prodigies, but also the sharp and clear delineation of a character more vivid and more difficult than any of Shakspeare's, how is the futility of every sceptical theory

aggravated when we observe that what the Gospels have dramatized, with a success which has revolutionized the world, is not only a blameless or even a perfect Man, but such a Man in the act of training his brethren to regard Him as Almighty God.

What is to be looked for, then, is a claiming of attributes and functions which prove, when examined, to be inconsistent with any rank lower than the supreme. We expect to find the disciples supplied with ideas which they "understood not at the first"; but which, like a writing upon sensitized paper, assumed a new import when their minds were raised to a higher temperature.

Let us begin with the Fourth Gospel, and ask afterwards how the Synoptics sustain its testimony. At the very outset, we are arrested by a remarkable fact. St. John (who never puts any such categorical phrase into the lips of Jesus) does for himself assert that the Word was God, and not only God by derivation of nature from the Father, but in such a reciprocity of communion, that whereas the Nicene Creed contents itself with saying *ἐκ θεοῦ*, he says, *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. Now the Fourth Gospel contains passages concerning which criticism asserts, loudly enough, that at least the phraseology is Johannine, although commended to the Church as the utterances, sometimes of the Baptist, and sometimes of His Lord. How comes it that no such sanction of a deeper voice has been claimed for this mighty utterance? Myth and legend rather overstate their case: John never ascribes to Jesus the expression which he himself has no scruple in employing; which however we have seen reason for holding to be impossible, as yet, for the Jesus of our Christian faith.

In the First Chapter He accepts the title of the Son of God: Nicodemus, who uses it, "believes" aright. But he is to learn greater things. Jacob, long ago, deeming himself an exile from the presence of God, learned that God was in

this place by the vision of a ladder on which angels came and went. Now Jesus is the true bridge between earth and heaven; upon Him all intercourse between God and man is carried on; even the angels cannot dispense with this "way." The vision which spoke to Jacob of a Divine Presence is a permanent reality in Him (49, 51).

In the Third Chapter, He is the "only begotten" Son of the universal Father (16, 18). The phrase is not reported by the Synoptics, but we shall find that it is justified by them. But it is impossible that a phrase so exclusive should only express an immanence of Deity such as others might share, or indeed anything less than participation in the essence of the Godhead.

As if this were not enough, in the face of the plain assertion that the faith which justified Abraham was belief in God, He offers, twice over, eternal life to every one who believes in Himself (15, 16, and cf. 18). And while it is written that "Jehovah is my Light and my Salvation," He does not scruple to make Himself "the Light" absolutely and without qualification, and not only the Light of the World, but the Light entering the world from some mysterious home beyond τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον (19).

The Fourth Chapter treats of instruction given to a simple and ill-informed disciple. It is therefore, as we are prepared to expect, entirely free from that stronger self-assertion which would here be so premature and unhelpful. Nothing in the Synoptics could be simpler. And yet it is His province to give the water of life, which shall be, in all who drink it, an unfailing fountain. In the seventh chapter we meet this claim again.

But the testimony of the Fifth Chapter is certainly more surprising from explicitness than from defect. Here it almost seems that all reserve is laid aside; and if (as we have contended) reticence was both becoming to Himself in the flesh, and necessary for His hearers, this extra-

ordinary clearness of assertion needs to be explained. But an explanation is at hand. It has sometimes happened that a mutiny of subordinates forced their leader to make public his secret orders, because the evils of further silence would outweigh its theoretical advantages. Every one of us, perhaps, has sometimes said, of things which our kindness was concealing, "Well, if you must hear the truth, it is this——." And this same necessity is the true explanation of much that perplexes modern readers of St. John. He records formal controversies. In these, the guarded expressions of Jesus were caught up, and pressed by hostile logic. Then they had either to be disavowed (which was impossible) or followed to their amplest consequences. From these consequences He did not shrink. And so He could reply to His judge at last, "In secret I have said nothing . . . Ask them that heard Me." Now the Fifth of John is a remarkable justification of this claim to a perfect frankness. When Jesus healed the impotent man, and was accused of breaking the Sabbath, He answered, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work" (17). And this was emphatically such a phrase as we have reason to expect, charged with latent significance, as a cloud with electricity. The Jews themselves could say, "God is our Father" (viii. 41), and Jesus taught us all to say "Our Father." But He Himself uniformly rejected this claim, common to all, and asserted His unique and solitary sonship. Throughout the narrative, He never said Our Father, even though it became necessary to evade it by such a phrase as My Father and your Father, and My God and your God. And the Jews detected the speciality of His expression. Their sacred writings asked, "Have we not all one Father?" (Mal. ii. 10), and the phrase "My Father" startled them with its implied monopoly. Moreover God was His Father in so real a sense that what God did, in His secular Sabbath, Jesus also might do, in each of His

Hebrew Sabbath days. The disciples might hesitate what inference to draw, but hatred was surely justified in concluding that He made Himself equal with God. They took up stones in their passion, but recoiled from hurling them, in awe.

Now the point to be observed is Christ's treatment of this their inference. If it was erroneous, He would surely have corrected it. If they were right in supposing that He made Himself equal with God, He would maintain His position, but if necessary guard it against misunderstanding. What He actually did was to teach an imparted equality, for ever derived and yet for ever equal, and this was the equality of an Eternal Son, since it is from the relation of Father and Son that the whole dispute arises. First, and with solemn emphasis, He declares, the Son can do nothing of Himself, but only what He seeth the Father doing. This makes all the work of the Son to be achieved by virtue of His relation to the Father: there is no dualism in such a doctrine. Next He asserts that "whatsoever the Father doeth, that doeth the Son, after the same manner" (*ὁμοίως*, 19). This tremendous allegation did indeed make Himself equal with God. And therefore He guards it against any suspicion of vainglory by repeating that He neither does nor can do anything independently, but only what He seeth the Father do. This however means everything; for the Father showeth Him all things that He doeth Himself. Thus whatsoever He seeth the Father do, He also doeth and doeth likewise. And if the Father showeth Him all, this means both omniscience and omnipotence: it is not in knowledge or power that such a Being is inferior to God. Can it be in essence? is it conceivable that a being of a lower nature is entrusted with power to do, after a like fashion, all that is done by God? This doubt also is met. Inherent life is no attribute of the creature. In God we live and move and exist. Now He who only hath immor-

tality gave by one definite act of His volition to the Son to enjoy life as inherent as His own, ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Πατήρ ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὕτως καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἔδωκε ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ (26). In the 23rd verse He bids all men to honour the Son even as (καθὼς) they honour the Father. Now if the Father will not give His glory to another, who is this who shares equally His power, His knowledge, His inherent life and His glory?

He also claims the place which they gave, in superstitious reverence, to the inspired Scriptures. These they searched, thinking they had life in the record, which was in fact a witness to Him. If they would only come to Him, they should really possess that life which they supposed to be involved in their Scriptures. Who is this to whom the function of the Scriptures is to witness? Who can minister to men a life which is erroneously supposed to be in them? Surely such words (and especially in such a context) can mean no person but the Highest.

We pass to the Sixth Chapter. In Isaiah lv. it is Jehovah who says, "Come ye to the waters . . . hearken diligently unto Me and eat that which is good." Nor will there be found in the Old Testament a claim by any mortal bearing God's commission to be himself the giver of bread to the inheritance, or to make their cup run over. That error was not repeated after the punishment of Moses and Aaron for asking, "Must we bring you water out of the rock? But this, it seems, is no reason why Jesus should avoid such phrases. The Carpenter of Nazareth claims that His flesh is meat and His blood is drink indeed, and it is His to give them. If Jehovah "prepareth a table before me," Jesus announces "the meat which endureth unto eternal life, which the Son of man shall give" (27). If Abraham believed on God, yet the whole "work of God" (sharply contrasted with their notion of many "works") is that men should believe on Jesus Himself

(29), and this duty of belief in Him is reiterated again and again (40, 47) besides being expressed throughout in the image of eating and drinking His flesh and blood, which is so all-important that whoever does this has eternal life already, and whoever fails to do it has not life (53, 54). At this stage one naturally reflects that every one is cursed who trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm (Jer. xvii. 5). Shall we escape from this difficulty by urging that a man may be trusted as a teacher guiding men to God? On the contrary, it is the Father who draws men to Jesus (44, 37), and it is Jesus who will raise them at the last day (39, 44, 54); and what is more, it is because of Him that they shall live (57).

We who are so accustomed from childhood to such phrases that we fail to observe their stupendous egoism, should occasionally try the effect of applying them to another. What if we read of the Father drawing men to Paul? of men living because of John? and of Peter raising men up at the last day?

In the Seventh Chapter we find that Jesus, when next after these high claims He confronted the people of Jerusalem, disavowed all seeking of His own glory (18), just as in the Synoptics we shall find Him joining together the utmost self-assertion with precepts of humility, and with the claim that He is Himself most humble. He knows God not by a revelation but by virtue of His origin (29). And as God has said, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters . . . Incline your ear and come unto Me" (Isa. lv. 1, 3), this Jesus, who seeks not His own glory, says, "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink"; and even improves on the offer of Jehovah, by promising that whoever trusts in Him shall himself become a water-spring (37, 38). This offer He had already made to the Woman of Samaria, yet we know who it was who claimed to be the one Fountain of living waters, and

how great was the evil of forsaking Him for another (Jer. ii. 13). Or if a man could himself resemble a fountain, it was Jehovah who made him as a watered garden, and as a spring of water whose waters failed not (Isa. lviii. 11). Jesus now offers to do as much.

Here then is an excellent example of what we shall find equally frequent in all the Gospels : a manner of appropriating as His function what the Old Testament ascribes to God alone, than which nothing can be more suggestive and significant.

In the Eighth Chapter, again, He is the Light of the world. Now every Jew had learned to say, "Jehovah is my Light and my Salvation"; "Send forth Thy light and Thy truth, let them lead me"; "Jehovah shall be thine everlasting Light" (Ps. xxvii. 1, xliii. 3; Isa. lx. 20). Further, the Psalmist having said, "They walk, O Jehovah, in the light of Thy countenance" (lxxxix. 15), and Isaiah, "Let us walk in the light of Jehovah" (ii. 5), Jesus now says, "He that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (12). It is now, but with special reference perhaps to the mysterious expression "I am," that they exclaim, "Who art Thou?" And the answer is quite as startling: all other teaching leads men away from the teacher to his Master, but Jesus is Himself the substance of His revelation: He is the same as His teaching from the first (25).¹

It is the same thing to say that "the truth shall make you free" and that "the Son shall make you free" (32, 36). Lastly, the phrase which startled them already recurs with unequivocal significance, when He says, "Before Abraham was born, I am" (58).

¹ It would be unfair to use this verse for coercive disputation, since it is open to another rendering. Yet it can help the candid inquirer, for the explanation above, which is that of Bengel, Godet, and the Revisers, is surely better than to take it as an impatient cry ("Why do I even speak to you?" which, however, he continues to do), in spite of the great authority of Westcott.

In the Ninth Chapter He is again the Light of the world (5). And as spoken in connection with the healing of the blind, it throws into stronger relief the fact that all His miracles, without exception, are wrought by an inherent and not a borrowed power. He invokes no help: He simply says "I will." Men to whom He delegates the power to heal, instead of invoking God, invoke Him. Elisha said, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" But Peter and John said, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth"; and this was the natural result of His example. Thus here, having opened the dark eyes, He says, not "Jehovah shall be My sun," but "I am the Light of the world."

In the Tenth Chapter the whole discourse about the Shepherd and the sheep implies a boundless claim.

The sheep are His own (4, 12, 14) and He is their sole owner—"There shall be one Shepherd" (16). Could either He or His hearers have forgotten the twenty-third Psalm? Who is this, who says not like David, "Jehovah is my Shepherd," but "I am the Shepherd, the good *one*"; not "He leadeth Me in green pastures," but "by Me if any enter in he shall find pasture"; not "When I pass through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me," but "I (with an emphatic *ἐγὼ*) am come that they may have life"?

Such an utterance has to reckon with the ninety-fifth Psalm as well as the twenty-third. "Let us kneel before Jehovah . . . We are the people of His pasture and the sheep of His hand," which surely recalls the words, "No man shall pluck them out of My hand." And there is also the thirty-fourth of Ezekiel, where the sheep are scattered and become a prey to every beast (5), as the wolf, in John, scatters the sheep. But there it is Jehovah who says, "I Myself, even I, will both search My sheep and seek them out; as a shepherd seeketh out his flock . . .

so will I seek out my sheep and feed them ; . . . I will feed them in a good pasture " (11, 12, 14). In the face of such passages Jesus is the Shepherd, the good *one*, and the sheep are His own. And when the Jews ask Him for an explanation, they get it. All this is indeed true of His Father, but then He and His Father are one (30). None shall pluck them out of His hand, because none is able to pluck them out of the Father's hand. And here it is to be observed that Jesus never says, "I and God are one *thing*," a phrase which, however daring, would interpose some thin partition between Himself and Godhead : it is "I and the Father are one *thing*." Hereupon they will stone Him as making Himself God. Does He deny the charge by quoting the eighty-second Psalm, in which the Hebrew judges were called Elohim because a divine commission had come to them ? Does He endeavour to reduce His claim to the same level with theirs ? On the contrary, He takes pains to separate His claim from theirs. The argument is from the conferring of a divine title upon those mere vicegerents of one divine function to something vastly greater. These judges were only the recipients of a revelation, it was unto them that the word of God came ; but He was the very revelation itself, God's message, sent into the world. Well, then, if the title of Elohim is given to those, to whom the word of God came finding them on the common level of mankind, what is there incredible any longer in the vastly greater claim of Him whom the Father sanctified in some awful region, and sent Him thence into the world ? His claim is vastly greater ; it is not to assume the title of Elohim (which, in fact, He never once assumed), it is to say, "I actually am Son of the very God" (*τοῦ θεοῦ* as distinguished from those *θεοί*) (35, 36).

The argument is profound and decisive, and rests on this basis, that whoever is repelled by the condescension involved in the Incarnation ought to recoil from much that is

asserted even in the Old Testament; and in truth if God had stooped, we can easily believe Him to stoop absolutely, so that all His condescension affirms the principle of the Incarnation. And Jesus goes on to affirm that as truly as He is in the Father, so truly is the Father in Him (38).

In the Eleventh Chapter, He is free from the pressure of controversy, but even here "the glory of God" is the same thing as "that the Son of God may be glorified" (4), and He embodies in Himself "the Resurrection and (as before) the Life" (25). Again, too, we find Him claiming such boundless results from faith in Him that no room is left for larger blessings to result from faith in the supreme God. "In Thee is the fountain of life," said the Psalmist (Ps. xxxvi. 9): Does Jesus say one whit less about Himself? "He that believeth on Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth on Me shall never die" (26).

Or pass to the Twelfth Chapter and consider how this would sound as the aspiration of any minister of God or any angel: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Myself" (*ἐγὼ . . . πρὸς ἑμαυτόν*, 32). It was not to himself that St. Paul would fain espouse the Church as a pure virgin.

In the Thirteenth Chapter we find Him, who forbade others to be called Master, calling Himself Master and Lord (13), and this in the very act of teaching them lowliness by His example. He also claims authority to add another to the commandments (34).

In the Fourteenth Chapter He strangely yokes together belief in God and in the Carpenter of Nazareth (1): He receives men into "My Father's house" in order that they may be—with whom? Even in that presence their joy is to be with Him, and it is "unto Myself" that He receives them (3). To know Him is to know and to have actually seen the Father (7, 9). The Father abiding in Him doth

His deeds (10). When they ask anything in His name, it is He Himself who answers; and in this, in Him, the Father is glorified (13). The Eternal Spirit and He Himself are equally Paracletes, and one replaces the other (16). He, equally with the Father, will inhabit the bosom of all who love and obey Him (23). We have said that His miracles differ from all others in that they are not done "in the name of" God; but in His own name prayer may be offered, and in His name the Father sends the Paraclete (13, 26). He can give peace, and it is His own peace which He gives (27).

It is not inconsistent with all this that the Father, the *Fons Divinitatis*, is greater than He, for He was the Son of Man and had emptied Himself; but it is profoundly suggestive that this fact needed to be mentioned (28).

In the Fifteenth Chapter He is capable of a love of man which is parallel with the Father's love for Him (9), and to hate Him is to hate the Father (23). He is the Sender of the Spirit of Truth from the Father (26).

In the Sixteenth Chapter it is again He who sends the Comforter (7), and the world-wide conviction of sin will be "because they believe not on Me" (9). There is no truth of God for the Comforter to reveal which is not a declaring of what is Christ's, and a glorifying of Him (14, 15).

In the Seventeenth Chapter He is to be glorified with God Himself; and this will be no new attainment, but only what He possessed along with the Father before His incarnation (5). All things which belong to the Father belong to Him, and He thinks it right to add, "and Mine are Thine" (10). His conception of the bliss of heaven for His people is that they may be with Me where I am, that they may behold My glory (24). But can we think of Paul as praying that converts may reach heaven, in order that they may behold (in the presence of God) Paul's glory (τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν)? After the resurrection He

causes His own breath to pass upon them with the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost"; and He accepts the formal adoration of Thomas, "*Thou art my Lord and my God.*" [ὁ κύριός μου, not the vocative (xx. 22, 28)].

Such is the testimony of St. John's Gospel: how does it compare with that of the Synoptics? A difference has already been pointed out in the fact that they report His popular addresses rather than private conversations in which He could be confidential, and controversies in which He was forced to be outspoken. With due allowance for this difference, the resemblance will be found to be startling, and is not only an evidence for one doctrine, but also for the identity of the figure which is consistently portrayed by all.

In all the Gospels there is the same easy taking of the supreme place, assuming rather than formally claiming it, and the same habit of appropriating offices and titles which every Jew knew to be divine.

Even more striking than in St. John is that teaching with authority, and with authority commanding the unclean spirits, which from the very first made men ask, What is this? (Mark i. 22, 27; Luke iv. 36). While every prophet alleged that "Thus saith Jehovah," Christ says, "Verily I say," and while for their miracles they cried to heaven, "Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that Thou art God" (1 Kings xviii. 37), He says, "I will, be thou clean," and even works with intention "that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins" (Mark ii. 10, etc.). Even to the dead, His word is, "I say unto thee" (Luke vii. 14; Mark v. 41). Thus all that has been written about the ninth chapter of St. John applies to every one of the Synoptic miracles as well. Throughout the Sermon on the Mount He places Himself on the same level as the Giver of the Decalogue. "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou

shalt not kill, but I say unto you" (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, v. 21). Now it was God who "spake all those words."

After a miraculous draught of fish, when Peter is so overwhelmed with a sense of his sinfulness as to propose to renounce his vocation, the pardon which was burned upon the lips of Isaiah with fire from the altar and angelic ministration, came to the Apostle simply in the words Fear not, and the acceptance of his services by Jesus (Luke v. 8, 10). Nor does it ever occur to Jesus to appeal, for the pardon of sins, to any higher authority than His own.

He is greater than the temple and Lord over the Sabbath day (Matt. xii. 6, 8). As in the first chapter of St. John, so here He does what only God ever does beside, in bestowing a new name to indicate a higher vocation or a deeper character (Mark iii. 16, etc.).

In the Sermon on the Mount, after the Beatitudes pronounced upon great moral qualities, and upon suffering for righteousness (of which blessings the greatest is to inherit the kingdom of heaven), comes the crowning beatitude of suffering "for My sake." For this the reward is not only to inherit but to be great in heaven. To suffer for Him is to be on a level with the prophets who suffered for Jehovah in His controversy with false gods (Matt. v. 11, 12). We are not fit to judge lest we be judged, but He judges the world; and this is beyond doubt a divine act in the Old Testament (vii. 22, 23). It is true that in Matthew xix. 28 the disciples also sit upon twelve thrones and judge the tribes of Israel. But every good commentator since Bengel has pointed out that the difference in the phrase implies that they receive then their dignity. (It is the middle voice, and the accusative shows them moving to their thrones, καθίσεσθε ἐπὶ θρόνους, while He καθίστη . . . ἐπὶ θρόνου.) Thus He is not merely judged worthy to be assessor; He is, as in Matthew xxv., the Judge of the whole earth. After this sermon, we are again told of the

amazement caused by His assumption of authority (Matt. vii. 29).

Both Matthew and Luke (xi. 10 and vii. 27) have recorded, in connection with the Baptist's message, a curious example of the quietest possible appropriation of what is unquestionably divine. "This is he of whom it is written, I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee." But in Malachi (iii. 1) the messenger is sent "before Me," Myself, and the Septuagint has it *πρὸ προσώπου μου*.

Nothing in St. John is stronger than the words of Matthew xi. 27, and they are accentuated and thrown into relief by the claim which immediately follows, that He is "meek and lowly of heart." The words "all things are delivered unto Me of My Father" are quite parallel with the assertion that the Father sheweth Him all things, and what He thus sees He Himself doeth *ὁμοίως*. But there is more. "And no man knoweth the Son save the Father, neither knoweth any the Father save the Son"—at this moment the scales of mystery hang level between the nature of God and of the Carpenter. But here we are not allowed to stop: the nature of God is in some sense the more comprehensible of the two. For while none knoweth the Son save the Father, the Father is known of two classes—(1) the Son, (2) any one to whom the Son willeth to reveal Him. How these words could ever have been spoken except on the Christian hypothesis of such added complexity as we find in the doctrine of eternal sonship and of incarnation, baffles the imagination. And the only refuge of scepticism is to attack a text, which is however perfectly well authenticated.

Again He forgives sins without any mention of a higher authority behind Him; and His followers so learn the lesson that when Paul forgives sins, the higher authority behind is not that of the Father but of Christ (Luke vii. 47; Matt. ix. 2; 2 Cor. ii. 10).

When He has formally declared that all sins and blasphemies except that against the Holy Ghost shall be forgiven, manifestly including sins against the Father as such, He finds it necessary to add that sin against Himself is not unpardonable (Matt. xii. 32).

In the parable of the tares and wheat, His position is utterly apart from that of the best sons of humanity. They are the good seed, but He is the sower of them in a field which is His own; to Him the angels appeal, and at His bidding they abstain from pulling up the tares, until at the harvest He shall send them to gather out of His kingdom all things that offend (Matt. xiii. 37-41). And in the following verse this kingdom of His is described as the kingdom of their Father.

All the Synoptics have recorded the remarkable discourse in which He first calls Himself the Physician, and then the Bridegroom, in whose presence the guests cannot fast (Matt. ix. 12, 15; Mark ii. 17, 19; Luke v. 31, 35). The first epithet by itself might pass, but throughout the Old Testament Jehovah is the Bridegroom of the Church, and in Hosea, where this image is most elaborated, He is also the Physician: "King Jareb . . . is not able to heal you . . . Let us return unto Jehovah, and He will heal us" (v. 13, vi. 1).

Christ, however, is continually the Bridegroom. If the Father makes a marriage supper, it is for the Son. When He returns, the cry is, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh. And indeed nothing but His own habitual use of the title can explain the transfer of it to Him throughout all the New Testament; so that while Isaiah says, "Jehovah hath called thee as a wife . . . thy Maker is thy husband" (liv. 6, 5), and Jeremiah and Ezekiel re-echo the same thought, when St. Paul speaks of marriage as a mystery it is concerning Christ and the Church; or if he is jealous, it is to present her as a pure virgin to Christ; and if in the

Apocalypse the Bride is ready, it is for the marriage supper of the Lamb.

He whom they call Beelzebub is the Master of the house in which all others are the household (Matt. x. 25); and this is Christ's own assertion of the place which is so powerfully made good for Him in the second of Hebrews. He claims the same title in Luke xiii. 25 and Matthew xxiv. 45.

To lose life for His sake is to enjoy the reality of life, and to receive Him is to receive the Father (Matt. x. 40).

The Church is His, and He builds it; and He can give away the keys of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xvi. 18, 19).

Although God will not give His glory to another, yet He shall come in the glory of His Father with the holy angels (Mark viii. 38). Presently this glory is His own (Matt. xix. 28), and so are the angels (Matt. xxiv. 31).

When the Seventy return, with a not unnatural joy, to say that the power of His Name had reached beyond the letter of their commission, and the devils were subject to them (who had not, like the Twelve, been authorized to cast them out, but only to heal diseases), Jesus takes advantage of their faithful and receptive frame of mind to tell them that He beheld long ago the war and the victory of heaven, and that the authority which He has already given them is over all the power of the enemy (Luke x. 18, 19).

When Moses thought of God protecting His people, it was as an eagle spreading her wings over her young. Christ puts Himself into the same relation toward them; and so little is He flushed or elevated at the thought, that it is for Him an office of condescension, and the fitter emblem is the humble but equally faithful care of the hen over her chickens (Deut. xxxii. 11; Luke xiii. 34).

The effect produced upon His disciples by His teaching is such that they pray to Him for what was never asked of

mortal, Increase our faith (Luke xvii. 5). The time is coming when He shall flame like the lightning across all the sky, and His day shall be like that of the flood, and of the overthrow of Sodom (Luke xvii. 24, 26, 28). But this means that He shall visit the world as God did; so that, immediately afterwards, God's avenging of His own elect is the same as the coming of the Son of Man (xviii. 7, 8). He goes away to receive the kingdom, and the wicked are His own enemies whom He orders to be cut in sunder (Luke xix. 12, 27). In the parable of the vineyard, His sonship is wholly unlike the relationship between the owner and any of the servants. He is the only Son, the Beloved, the Heir, and the husbandmen might be expected to reverence Him, even though they had already outraged all beside (Mark xii. 6, 7). In subtle harmony with this parable, when the blood of all the righteous comes on this generation, which shall kill prophets, and wise men, and scribes, His own blood is not reckoned with the rest. *That* crime is on another level, for indeed it is He who sends all these (Matt. xxiii. 34, 35). But this, at least, is a function plainly divine.

Men shall endure the final troubles for His Name's sake, and He, in return, shall inspire them as God inspired the prophets (Luke xxi. 12, 15).

In the Twenty-fifth of Matthew, so near the end, His self-disclosure is most emphatic. He is the Bridegroom, and we have seen what this involves (ver. 1). The servants are "His own servants," and He admits them into the final joy, or dooms them to despair (14-30). He returns in His own glory, and sits on the throne of His glory: He who elsewhere was the King's Son is now the very King: He has felt all the neglect inflicted, and all the kindness bestowed upon the least of His followers, and to say this is to say all. There is no mention of their connection with any Higher One behind. It is said of the people of Jehovah,

"He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of His eye" (Zech. ii. 8). Now it is the Nazarene who was cared for or neglected in His people.

There is more to say about this remarkable passage. In the tenth of John we saw Jesus appropriating the title of the Shepherd, whose own the sheep are. Now Ezekiel says, "O my flock, thus saith the Lord God, behold, I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he-goats"; and more emphatically still, "Behold I, I will judge between the fat cattle and the lean cattle" (xxxiv. 17, 20). Jesus makes this also His own, judging all nations "as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats."

At His trial He would give no unjust advantage to His foes; but when solemnly adjured, He claimed not only the title of Christ, but also that of Son of God, and declared that "henceforward" He should be visibly and for ever enthroned, and also for ever coming in the clouds (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64).

Finally, when His work on earth was done, and we found Him in St. John identifying sacramentally the Holy Spirit with His own breath, He is equally outspoken in St. Matthew. The time was now come of which Zechariah prophesied (xiv. 8, 9), when living waters should go forth from the temple to the east and west, when the LORD should be one and His name one, who should be King over all the earth. The disciples are now bidden, as they evangelize, also to baptize all nations into one Name. But this is equally the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

It is not only the companionship in which the Carpenter places Himself, but the absolute equality with Father and Spirit which is implied by a Baptism into their common Name, into the privilege of relationship equally with the Father, and the Nazarene, and the Holy Spirit, which makes the evidence of this text decisive. But it must be

repeated that the argument rests upon no one passage, but on the concurrence of all.

The testimony is vast, incidental, and undesigned, it is concurrent in the four Gospels, and it is accumulative. It is not a question of how much or how little this verse or that can be forced to mean, but of the tenor and drift of His teaching as a whole, and what theory is possible concerning Him whose whole teaching looked this way.

Can anything less resemble the proper attitude toward God of His loftiest creature than this habitual and characteristic attitude of Jesus? Can any attitude better befit Him who should soon be adored as God, manifest even while veiled in flesh?

G. A. CHADWICK.

THE PARABLE OF THE UNJUST STEWARD.

WHAT is the real meaning of this very curious parable, and of the lesson our Lord draws from it? As usually taught, it is something like this:—A steward, threatened with dismissal, and unable to find any other means of support, resolves to use his remaining time in office for his own advantage. For this purpose he conspires with his masters' tenants to cheat that master, trusting to their gratitude, or fear, for his future maintenance. This he does so cleverly as to earn the praise of his master, who, though himself the loser by the man's dishonesty, cannot but admire the "shrewd and successful wickedness" by which the steward has turned his position of trust to his own personal profit. So (says our Lord, as generally interpreted) I advise you to use the good things of this world: "make friends" by their means, who shall receive you, when these good things fail you at death, into the everlasting habitations of God.

This is the interpretation of the parable usually given

in commentaries and devotional works, and it is supported by the general drift of the early Fathers, when they have occasion to speak of the passage. Thus Tertullian explains the "debtors" as the sinners whom the wise Jews laboured to convert. Origen carefully explains our Lord's reference to the superior "prudence" of the "children of this generation," as the genuine, but carefully guarded, recognition of a real fact. S. Ambrose explains the "friends" made with the "unrighteous mammon" as signifying the poor. And the pseudo-Chrysostom gives an ingenious explanation of the parable: "As often as a man, feeling his end approaching, lightens by a kind deed the load of his sins, either by forgiving a debtor his debts or by giving bountifully to the poor,—dispensing those things which are his Lord's, he conciliates to himself many friends, who will afford him real testimony before the Judge, not by words, but by demonstration of good works; nay, moreover, will provide for him, by their testimony, a resting-place of consolation." It is needless to multiply examples from ancient and modern commentators: in press and pulpit, such are the general lines on which this parable has generally been and is generally interpreted.

But every commentator thinks it necessary to preface this explanation with an apology. "The circumstance of conduct of great wickedness being put forth by our Lord as representing the wisdom that should be in His elect," proves an initial stumbling-block to almost every one. It is found possible to explain it, either by showing that our Lord was not occupied with the moral aspect of the steward's conduct or by supposing (as Dr. Isaac Williams, from whom the above words are quoted, does) certain unknown circumstances that might, if known, supply us with a reason for our Lord's choice of the story. But we cannot well explain obvious moral difficulties by drawing on an unlimited reservoir of unknown and unknowable cir-

cumstances; and, after all explanations have been given, we find it hard to realise the Lord of all good as telling, detail by detail, a story of successful villany, and drawing from it, as a moral, the superior wisdom displayed by the wicked when compared with the good.

Nor is this all. We might perhaps explain this difficulty away if it stood alone; but, as a matter of fact, it is only one out of many obstacles to the usual interpretation. Let us look at the parable, in its details and its context, and see how it will bear out the idea that it is a picture of shrewd, long-headed, successful, worldly wisdom.

In the first place, we can hardly avoid observing that it is one of a series of parables, and that it is connected with its predecessor, the Prodigal Son, by one remarkable word,—*διασκορπίζων*, “wasting.” The conduct that led to the prodigal’s fall was exactly the same as that which led to the steward’s ruin. In the former parable the lessons include that of the result of misuse of God’s gifts,—which are there regarded as *οὐσία*,—that which belongs to us. We can hardly avoid supposing that there was some similar thought in the second too. Indeed, the circumstances of the case would make the lesson more obvious, if there were anything in the parable to call attention to it. The son misused what was, at least, colourably his own: the steward wasted what belonged to his master. We have no right, in this connexion, to forget that this continued correction of errors that might arise from each parable taken by itself, is a marked characteristic of the whole group of parables to which that on which we are commenting belongs. It is perfectly obvious as regards the first three: the connexion of thought may make us reasonably suspect that it extends to the fourth also. From this point of view, the first lesson of the Parable of the Unjust Steward concerns the misuse of God’s gifts,—or, rather, of the things that belong to God (*τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*

αὐτοῦ) entrusted to our care. Now the popular interpretation fails to find any place for this element: it is the story, from the common point of view, of the manner in which a rogue who has persistently misused his masters' goods managed to cover his retreat, and avoid his natural punishment.

But let us look at the parable itself. How far does it bear out the belief that it is a description of an instance of "shrewd and successful wickedness," set before us by Christ for an example, in reference to its prudence, but not to its morality? I, for one, can see no proof of the wisdom—in any sense of the word—of this untrustworthy servant. He had been squandering his master's property,—not, perhaps, a rare fault. But he had contrived to squander it so that detection, when it came, found him absolutely unprovided for. Dr Farrar notes this in his Commentary on S. Luke, and points out that it is in accordance with the usual facts as to the improvidence of vice. This I believe: but what becomes, in that case, of the supposed contrast between the *providence* of vice and the improvidence of virtue, on which the moral of the Parable is supposed to hang? In the vices that led to his fall, the steward was not only a knave, but a fool: he lost his character and had nothing to show for it, but stood face to face with the choice of honest hard labour or beggary. We can hardly believe that He who "knew what was in man" meant to give us a picture of a rogue, whose foolish dishonesty had brought him to dishonour, turning suddenly wise, though not honest, at the pressure of impending ruin. We can hardly believe that He who traced the man's ruin to his own evil ways meant to give us a picture of his recovery by the very same vices that had brought him to misery. If so, admitting a connexion between this Parable and that of the prodigal son, the moral of this story would stand out in curious contrast to that of its predecessor. And the story,

as told by Christ, will not possibly bear any such interpretation. See what it is that the steward does, and how it fares with him.

He has no refuge but one: his incapacity on the one hand, and his pride on the other, shut him out from any means of sustenance save one only. And that one is—the very dishonesty that has failed to provide for him, has been at last detected, and has brought him to ruin. He has no reason to think he can escape detection now: if, when he was trusted, he could not cheat his master with impunity, how can he do so when his actions are sure to be closely watched? Nevertheless, he simply repeats his old devices. In combination with his Master's debtors, he contrives another cheating plan,—with what object? "That, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses." This servant under notice of dismissal showed little knowledge of human nature. Did he reckon on the gratitude of his lord's tenants or on their sense of their own interest? Men are not wont to show much thankfulness for the good other men do them for their own benefit; and the partner of a rogue in a matter of joint profit does not usually give much help to his fellow in consideration of their past union. On the other hand, self-interest would hardly lead the tenants to help the steward, when, an officeless and discredited man, he had lost all opportunity of either benefiting or injuring them. It is a significant fact that our Lord tells us nothing as to the success or failure of the unjust steward's scheme, but passes on at once to the comment made by the master when he discovered the trick.

"When he discovered the trick." He did then discover it,—else he could not have commented on it. From my point of view of the parable, there was no need to say that this dishonesty of the steward, like the others that had gone before it, was detected and baulked. It *could not* have

escaped detection. The praise, then, of the steward's "prudence" was given by a master who spoke "from the safe side of the fence"; he had made sure that he was not injured, and, if so, it is hard to see where the dishonest servant found his profit. In fact, the Master's comment appears to be pure sarcasm,—the perhaps somewhat cruel taunt of one who had before his eyes proof of the evil conduct of one whose crimes he before knew by accusation only.

In full agreement with this view of the matter is our Lord's "moral" drawn from the parable. "And I say unto you, make unto yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when it fails, they may receive you into the everlasting tabernacles." We can hardly avoid noticing this peculiar phrase *τὰς αἰώνιους σκηνάς*—"the everlasting tents." A tent is by its very nature transitory, and the true interpretation of the parable must take account of this remarkable expression.

There is, however, a third point of view from which the story must be considered if we want to get at its real meaning. It occurs embedded in the midst of moral teaching, and this teaching is very evidently connected with it. Now if the popular interpretation were correct, we should expect to find this teaching dwelling on the right use of riches and expanding the lesson as to our "making friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness." Instead of this, it not only passes entirely by this lesson, but uses the machinery of the parable for inculcating a lesson completely at variance with the popular view of the story. The steward had been unfaithful, and the Christ goes on to condemn unfaithfulness. He had tried to "serve two masters"—his lord and the tenants of his lord, and the Christ goes on to show that such service is an impossible thing. It is as hard to believe that our Lord meant to link with this teaching a moral depending for its effect on the assumption that the unrighteous steward succeeded

in making unfaithfulness pay, and turned his divided allegiance to his own profit, as it is to avoid the conclusion that, when He sums up the whole lesson in the words "Ye cannot serve God and mammon," He means to leave us, as the teaching of the parable, a lesson of whole-heartedness, singleness of service, and sincerity, very far indeed from the means by which the steward attempted to retrieve his fallen fortunes. If we take the popular interpretation, the lesson runs thus: "Imitate the prudence of the steward, who played off his master's and that master's tenants' interests against each other, and contrived to recover the ground lost through unfaithfulness by unfaithfulness still greater. Be ye faithful, and remember that ye cannot serve two masters." The story, thus interpreted, and the teaching based on it are not merely unconnected; they are repugnant to each other. And the repetition, in the teaching, of the characteristic words and phrases of the parable shows that our Lord meant us to regard them as connected. If we take the hints conveyed to us by (1) the marked omission of any statement as to the result of the steward's action, (2) the indirect statement that the master found out what had been done, and (3) the phrase "everlasting tents," we can find but one way of interpreting the parable. It stands out as sarcasm pure and simple. Our Lord told a story of a foolish, unfaithful servant, whose folly remained with him to the end, and who, even when suffering the results of his dishonesty, could find no other means of escape from them than a repetition of the very dishonesty that had brought them on. We shall see presently the particular lesson that He seems to have desired to enforce; for the present we content ourselves with observing that the teaching in vv. 10-14 is natural and forcible, with a force rendered all the greater by its repetition of the characteristic words of the parable, if the latter be sarcastic. If it be not, it is almost impossible to reconcile the story and the teaching that follows it.

When we trace out the further teaching of our Lord in the same context, we come upon something else that seems to confirm our view of the matter. "The Pharisees, who were covetous, heard all these things, and they mocked Him," or "sneered at Him" (*ἐξεμυκτήριζον αὐτόν*). Our Lord meets their mockery with a fourfold answer: (1) He tells them that they justified themselves before men, but were an abomination to God. (2) He tells them, in effect, that the law, the prophets, John Baptist, and "the kingdom of heaven" had, successively, brought God's law before them with ever stronger force, and obviously means to imply that they were earning some condemnation by neglecting it. (3) With a connexion by no means obvious on the surface, He presses home on them the absolute sanctity of the law of marriage. (4) With even less apparent connexion, He adds the parable of Dives and Lazarus, the fifth and last of the series beginning with the lost sheep.

Now I am far from saying that it is necessary to show a vital connexion between all these parables. It would be quite in accordance with our Lord's manner, and the manner in which the evangelists record His teaching, to suppose them unconnected,—spoken perhaps at different times, and brought together only for convenience. But I think it can be shown that there are strong reasons against treating this special group in that way: (1) The whole five parables are peculiar to S. Luke. (2) The first three are very obviously directly connected, and the fourth, as we have seen, is connected with the third by a remarkable word as well as by a certain continuity of thought. In the same way the fifth is directly connected by the evangelist with the teaching that obviously springs from, and is just as obviously intended to drive home the meaning of, the fourth. It is a peculiarity of the fifth that it is not introduced by any statement as to our Lord's utterance of it,

such as is usual at the beginning of parables, but runs on continuously with the teaching that precedes it. (3) In any case, an interpretation that shows a vital connexion between the various parts of what seems to be a continuous discourse is more probably correct than one that obliges us to split up and divide the discourse into separate and unconnected parts.

There is only one view of the meaning of the Parable of the Unjust Steward that, so far as I can see, will at once account for its own peculiarities, bring it into relation with the teaching that followed it, blend the various parts of that teaching into a harmonious whole, and give it a natural place in the series of parables of which it appears as a member. We have already seen reason to believe it sarcastic; now we may go further and suggest that it was, in the first instance, political. With politics in the highest sense of the word we know that our Lord did concern Himself. His prediction of the fall of Jerusalem naturally leads us to believe that He was interested in the causes that led to that fall. From this point of view we may well believe that in the Parable of the Unjust Steward He described the usual policy of the religious Jewish world of His day, and that it was this description of their temporising conduct, as they played fast and loose with the law of God in order to preserve their temporal prosperity, that roused the anger and sneering mockery of the "Pharisees, who were covetous," who cared so much for the things of this world that they sacrificed for them the kingdom of God. It must not be forgotten that these words were spoken near the end of our Lord's ministry, and probably after He had perceived the full and dangerous hostility of *all* the Jewish schools of thought. In this connexion we can hardly forget (1) that the Sadducean party assigned the danger of hostile action on the part of Rome as a reason for our Lord's death; and (2) that the Pharisees, in general

little friendly to the party then in power, made common cause with the Sadducees and Herodians against Him.

From this point of view our Lord, in the Parable of the Unjust Steward, describes the Jews of His generation. They had a trust from God, and they had misused it. They had the Law, and neglect of the Law had brought them the captivity. They had the Prophets, and Jerusalem had "killed the prophets, and stoned those that were sent to her"; and the natural result of all this had been the troubles that had culminated in their national enslavement. And now they were in fear of greater dangers. They knew that they might at any time lose the wretched remnant of independence they possessed. But their old sins did not forsake them. They still temporised with unrighteousness; they still made the word of "God of none effect" through convenient traditions. You can read them in the Talmud, you can find them in Maimonides—these subtle tricks by which they served the letter of the law while breaking it in spirit, and strove to keep the blessings of God while avoiding the responsibilities He laid upon them. And now, when our Lord spoke, they were the servants of the Herods, striving to maintain, in the pseudo-Jewish kingdom of that family, the shadow of their old independence. They were the servants of Rome, ready to own (as they did before Pilate's tribunal) Cæsar as their king, and to cringe to their conquerors for the sake of obtaining what they still ventured to call "their place and nation." And to do so, they were quite ready to set aside the law of God and falsify their trust anew. The most marked and characteristic case of this, perhaps, was the acquiescence of the Jewish religious world in the Roman deposition and appointment of the high priests on the one hand, and in the unspeakably foul marriage traditions of the Herods on the other. The gospel narratives show us the succession of high priests in a state of chaos, and the Jewish annals confirm this impres-

sion. The protest of John Baptist against the adultery of Herod Antipas makes it pretty plain that the other religious teachers of his time gave it at least the assent of silence. Like the Unjust Steward they had lost their stewardship through unfaithfulness; like the Unjust Steward they were unfaithful to the end. The fourth parable gives the political side of the national unfaithfulness, whose other results appear in the other stories of the series. They *all* deal with various results of the one fundamental national sin.

We can easily see this as to the three great and closely associated parables that head the group. There can be no doubt that in these our Lord was primarily dealing with the "publicans and sinners"—the great body of neglected and irreligious Jews, whom the religious leaders of the time were content to leave as the people who knew not the law, and were accursed, and might as well remain so. The missionary life of Judaism was dead—dead at home, so that religion contentedly remained the possession of a few. In the last of those three stories our Lord gives us a view of the ordinary religious man of His time, in the envious elder brother, caring only for his own safe abiding in his father's home.¹ He follows this up with the sarcastic Parable of the Unjust Steward, in which He sets forth the political side of the same policy. He strikes the lesson home by drawing from this parable the two lessons of faithfulness and single-hearted service; and he meets the mockery of the Pharisees by following up these lessons with others. He reminds them (1) that this policy might win them the good opinion of men, but that God saw through it. As a matter of fact,

¹ It is perhaps worth observing, in this connexion, that, from this point of view, the third and fourth parables mutually illustrate each other. (1) We have in the waste of the prodigal, when compared with that of the steward, a picture of the common sin of all the Jews; but the "publicans and sinners" had repented and come to Christ, the others had not. (2) The fourth parable *corrects* the false inference that might have been drawn from the account of the elder son. It estops all attempts of the Pharisees to claim that they had continued faithful to God, and needed no repentance.

it won them only the good opinion of their fellow countrymen. The Roman writers prove clearly that the policy of the Jews of that day did not impose on their masters in the imperial city. (2) He sums up the ways in which God had given them that teaching which was their trust for the world, dwelling both on its present urgency and its everlasting and perfect claims. (3) In association, apparently, with the name of S. John Baptist, He calls their special attention to *one* part of that law—the law of marriage. It must be remembered that the fate of His cousin had sunk deep into the human heart of Christ, and this fact, joined to the occurrence of S. John's name in the immediate context, makes it probable that the allusion here is to the adulteries of the Herods. At any rate this view blends best with the rest of the context, and gives a connected meaning to a long passage which, on the ordinary interpretation, is chaos and no more. (4) Finally, He clinches the whole with the great picture of Dives and Lazarus—the well-to-do reputedly pious Jew of that generation, living, in spite of “Moses and the prophets,” in self-regarding ease, and the neglected and miserable remnant of the people, forgotten by those “rich” in blessings, but not forgotten by God. So He ends in a manner where He began; but whereas at first He dwells only on God's welcome to the “lost” ones, He leads the way up to the other side of the problem, and shows at last the guilt and punishment of the “unfaithfulness” that issued alike in personal and in national selfishness and breach of trust.

This, I claim, is a reasonable and connected view of the whole discourse, and gives to the parable of the unjust steward its natural place and meaning. But, whatever we may think of the details, the popular interpretation of that parable seems to me absolutely indefensible. It fills the story with difficulties. It ignores plain hints in the story itself. It cuts off the parable from its whole context,

throwing it out of relation to the moral teaching that follows it, and making the connexion of the parts of that teaching with one another unintelligible. It takes the parable out of the heart of a series, all the other members of which are evidently related to one another, and sets it by itself as a thing apart.

I know only one objection that can be urged on the other side. It may be said that it was not our Lord's habit to speak sarcastically. Speaking for myself, I know nothing of "habits" in Christ; I can trace human nature, but not individual personal character, in Him who is to me Perfect Man. But, waiving this, one may ask whether sarcasm is wrong in itself, or only in general inexpedient. If it be not wrong in itself, our Lord's use of it here is plainly parallel to several other cases, in which he made a *rare* use of certain modes of action that are in most cases undesirable. Contemptuous language is in general inexpedient, but there may be cases in which it is wholly deserved and wholly suitable; in *one* such case our Lord spoke wholly contemptuously of one man. By our Lord's action in the wilderness, and by his general practice, He showed that it was in general inexpedient for Him to use His miraculous power for His own protection; but *once*, on the precipice at Nazareth, He broke through His usual custom. He came for mercy, not for judgment; yet in *one* famous case He worked a miracle to destroy. It is in general morally inadvisable to "pretend"—yet every one knows of cases in which it is plainly right; and *once*, and once only, we find our Lord doing so, in lovingkindness, when He "made as though He would have gone further." Personally, I see no reason to condemn sarcasm in its proper place: it is often a very suitable means of giving a cutting edge to a wholesome truth. And I am not sure that Christ never elsewhere used sarcasm; irony, at any rate, is its very near relation, and there is a clear irony in His words, "I came not

to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." But let it be granted that sarcasm is rarely justifiable: I am satisfied then with believing that Christ used it rarely, as here. There were obvious and special reasons against teaching *this* lesson to those particular hearers in any more direct way.

I may add that, if this were the primary meaning of the parable, it is easy to understand its memory being lost at an early period. The Fathers, as we have seen, generally treated it exactly as most commentators do to-day: seeing that, from any point of view, it directly referred to local and special circumstances that had passed away long before any commentator wrote about it, it would be strange if a tradition as to its true meaning had survived.

Our Lord says nothing as to how the Unjust Steward's last dishonesty fared. For those of whom Christ spoke the parable history soon filled up the blank, and its answer was the fall of Jerusalem and ruin of the Jewish nation. The plain moral of the story is just that which our Lord draws from it, and it applies to us all,—that unfaithfulness, temporising, half-hearted service, means double ruin. We can as little serve two masters as the Jews of our Lord's day, but we are quite as fond of trying to do so.

ALEX. R. EAGAR, D.D.

THE POSITION OF APHEK.

(A) *Judges* i. 31. Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho . . . nor of Aphik.

(B) 1 *Sam.* iv. 1b. [Israel] pitched beside Eben-ezer, and the Philistines pitched in Aphek (BA[•]PHEK).

(C) 1 *Sam.* xxix. 1. The Philistines gathered all their armies to Aphek (APHEKAH). (Cp. 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 4. The Philistines gathered themselves together and came and pitched in Shunem.)

(D) 1 *Kings* xx. 26. Ben-hadad numbered the Syrians and went up to Aphek (APHEKAH) [with the intention of fighting in the plain (MISHOR), *ib.*, v. 23].

(E) *Ib.*, v. 30. The rest [of the Syrians] fled to Aphek (APHEKĀH), into the city (EL HA'IR).

(F) 2 *Kings* xiii. 17. Thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek (BA'PHEK), (Elisha to Joash, son of Jehoahaz).

There are three theories as to the identity of Aphek. According to the first there are *three* Apheks, *one*, mentioned in the passage marked (B), in the Shephelah; *the second*, mentioned in (A) (C), in the northern part of the Philistine plain; *the third*, mentioned in (D) (E) (F), beyond Jordan "in the gorge of Fik, up which the great road ran from Scythopolis to Damascus" (G. A. Smith).

The second theory identifies the first two Apheks mentioned in the Philistine wars, but keeps separate the third Aphek, the scene of conflict with Syria.

The third theory (cp. W. R. Smith OTJC, p. 435) identifies all three and represents both the Philistines and the Syrians, *i.e.* the enemy from the S.W. and the enemy from the N.E., as making the same place, *i.e.* an Aphek in the north of the Philistine plain, the base of operations against Israel.

Now Prof. G. A. Smith, a competent judge, briefly pronounces this triple identification to be "out of the question" (*Hist. Geog.*, p. 401, *note*). His main objection is, I suppose, that the theory brings the Syrians too far to the west before delivering their attack on Israel.

Will a slight modification of the rejected theory meet Prof. Smith's objection? There seem to me indications that Aphek was the name not only of a city in the north of the Philistine plain, but also of a district stretching eastward from it, from which the city derived its name.

In the first place, the name "Aphek" (=ĀPHĪK, "water-course," or *collectively*, "watercourses") does not suit well a city, but it is appropriate for a district much cut up by a river and its tributaries. In the second place, a comparison of the two passages marked (D) (E) suggests that "Aphek" might be something else besides the name of a town. The passages seem at first to say that the Syrians fought at Aphek, and fled to Aphek! The exact wording of v. 30, however, seems to impress on us that while the fight was in the Aphek district, the flight was to Aphek city. Probably the Syrians were cut off in their retreat and driven *westward*, hence the great slaughter and the capture of Ben-hadad himself.

If it be granted that there was a *district* named "Aphek," we can have little doubt of its nature. It was a plain (EMEḲ,

1 Kings xx. 28) cut up by watercourses. It is surely to be identified rather with the whole or part of the great plain watered by the Kishon than with the neighbourhood of the modern Fik east of Jordan. In the first place, "the gorge of Fik" is¹ not a plain nor a plateau. Secondly, the Syrians would not "go up" (v. 26) to Fik, whereas to reach any part of the plain of Esdrêlon they would, after crossing the Jordan, ascend the long valley of Jezreel. The language of chapter xx. suggests a powerful offensive campaign on the part of Syria, and small defensive power on the part of Israel (v. 27). As, however, Ben-hadad did not choose on this occasion to risk his chariots among the hills round Samaria, the most likely battle-ground was some part of the plain of Esdrêlon. Israel could hardly venture to cross the Jordan to meet the far superior forces of the enemy.

Again, the victory of Joash over Syria "in Aphek" (2 Kings xiii. 17) may well have been fought W. and not E. of Jordan. Israel had been brought very low under his father Jehoahaz; "neither did he [the king of Syria] leave unto Jehoahaz but 50 horsemen and 10 chariots and 10,000 footmen" (v. 7). The battle in Aphek marked the turn of the tide of Syrian conquest, which must surely ere this have crossed the Jordan.

With regard to (C), I agree with Prof. Smith (*Hist. Geog.*, p. 401) that 1 Samuel xxix. 1 marks an earlier step in the campaign than 1 Samuel xxviii. 4. First the general order to march on the Aphek district was given to the Philistine armies, and then a camp was formed at Shunem, which was perhaps within that district.

That the same Aphek is intended in (B) as in (C) is probable in itself, and is confirmed by the successful results of both campaigns. Israel was more open to attack from Esdrêlon than from the S.W.

I have not dealt with the references to Aphek contained in the book of Joshua, partly because they seem to me to throw no light on the question of the identification of the Syrian with the Philistine Aphek, partly because I am not concerned to deny the possible existence of other Apheks in Palestine. What does seem clear is that the only Aphek of historic importance mentioned in the O.T. is a city (in the north of the Philistine plain) deriving its name from a plain stretching eastward which is identical with part or whole of the well-known plain of Esdrêlon.

W. E. BARNES.

¹ Neither 'EMEK nor MISHOR.

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